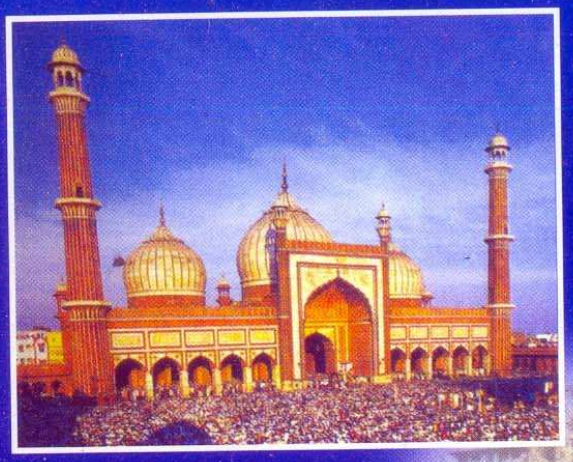
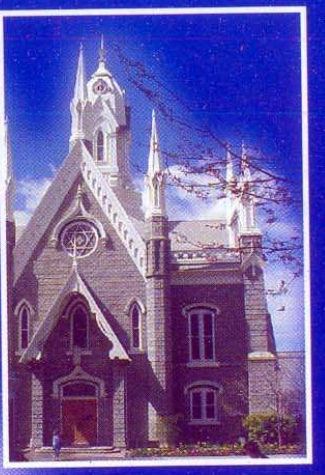
भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति





प्रकाशक : सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान

अनुक्रमणिका

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PREFACE

"SECULARISM, In the author's opinion, insertation of this word in the Preamble, by the Constitution (42nd amendment) Act 1976 has been productive of more mischief than benefit."

-DD Basu (author of the classic"The Shorter constitution of India-page 4 Preamble)

He then went on to quote examples to substantiate the above statement. DD Basu: further goes on to say," Since the Hindu Community is torn as under into numerous political parties and the Muslims constitute a single block, united on the foundation of religion, it is the muslim vote which is decisive in attaining majority. This prompts almost all political parties to vie with each other to promise what favours and concessions they would offer to this minority Community if returned to power with their votes. Similarly, a party while in power, goes on making concessions, yielding to aggressive demands from the Muslims, with an eye to the next election, forgetting all the while that any extra-constitutional favour offered to the minority commumity would be a ***discrimination against the majority community*** in violation of the guarantee of equality in Art.64 15 (1), 16 (1) of the Constitution of Bharat. It would also involve comunalism which the makers of the Constitution sought to ban by abolishing communal representation."

All this could be perpetrated because the ***Congress deliberately left this word "secular" undefined.*** When Janata government came to power in 1977, this word was sought to be defined by inserting clause 44 in the 45th Amendment Bill in 1978, but that was rejected by the Rajya Sabha, where Mrs Indira Gandhi's Party held the majority.

The champions of secularism, specically parties whose ***only ideological base*** is "secularism" owe it to the country to define it at least now. The fact that they all have consistently fought shy in defining it shows the fraud that was perpetrated upon the constitutuion by the insertion of this word.

A close scrutiny of the attitude of the three important communities living in this country makes startling revelations:

The Hindus innate respect for all the religions and the fact that the Syrian Christians, the zoarastrians the Parsees, et al, when persecuted in their parent countries found a haven of peace in Bharat and lived in place for centuries before the advent of the Muslims, the Portgale and the British is proof of the truly secular attitude of the Hindus that is inherent in them The truth is that this country is still secular because the majority community happens to be Hindu. Were it not so, Bharat too could have gone the way of Bangla Desh which had 32% population of Hindus at the time of partition but has just 5% Hindus today, or Pakistan where the figures are even worse.

While the constitution believers in secularism, ***Islam; and hence the Muslims are jealously anti-secular.*** Were it not so, why then should they be dreaming of a Pan-Islamic world. What then is the true interpretation of Surah 60, Ayat 4 which says: "We renounce you (idolators). Enemity and hate shall reign between us until you believe in Allah only." OR

Surah : 2, Ayat 193 which states: "Fight against them until idolatory is no more and Allah's religion reigns Supreme."

Only two Ayats out of scores of such Ayats have been quoted. The question is : if Ayats such as these begin to flow in the blood streams of children studying in tens of thousands of madarsas what chance can remain for real secularism to even sprout in their minds.

To cap it all the Hadis declares that this Planet earth belongs to Allah and only the believers of Islam are the rightful owners. Further that, non-believers are usurpers and it is the bounden duty of every muslim to extract the possession from all the non-believers. It is these that Jehad-bil-saif is declared as a defensive war (being fought to give back to Allah what rightfully belongs only to Allah).

The Pope's declaration that in the first two millenniums, Europe and the Americas were respectively harvested for Christianity and in the third millennium the Asian continent has to be harvested for Christianity.

Thus while the Muslims envision Islamising the whole world, the Christian plans are to Christianise the whole world.

In such a situation whence at all can true attitude of secularism germinate in the minds of the members of these two major communities of the world.

In this background, when all the Constituents of the present UPA Government happen to be swearing by "anti-communalism" which in essence is their brand of "secularism" it became necessary to convene a seminar of undaunting patriots and outstanding intellectuals to bare the fangs of 'Secularism' as has been practised in this country ever since we won freedom.

This compilation thus contains the text of speeches and papers submitted by the various participants at this seminar.

Bhadra Krishna 2
Samvat 2063 V.

Dated 11-8-2006
B.P. Singhal
Executive President
Sanskritik Gaurav Sansthan

New Delhi

''भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति''

विषय पर आयोजित संगोष्ठी के अवसर पर

स्वागताध्यक्ष जी का भाषण

इस सभा के सभापति क्रिम विश्वविद्यालय उज्जैन के पूर्व कुलपति माननीय प्रो. राम गोपाल गुप्ता जी, वि व हिन्दू परिषद के अंतर्राश्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष माननीय श्री अशोक सिंहल जी, भारत की राजनीति में विशिष्ट स्थान रखने वाले प्रबुद्ध चिंतक माननीय श्री वसंत साठे जी, सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान् तथा जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष डॉ0 सुब्रह्मण्यम् स्वामी जी, नवभारत टाइम्स तथा जी न्यूज़ के पूर्व संपादक डॉ0 सूर्यकांत बालीजी, वयोवृद्ध तपोनिश्ठ नेता आचार्य गिरिराज किशोर जी, सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान के राष्ट्रीय कार्यकारी प्रधान श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल जी, युवा नेता और ओजस्वी वक्ता डॉ0 सुरेन्द्र जैन जी, सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान के राष्ट्रीय उपप्रधान मेजर जनरल विश्वास जोगलेकर जी, डॉ0 महेश चन्द्र जी और इस सभा में पधारे एक से बढ़कर एक मनीषी चिंतकों, विचारकों, पत्रकारों, टी.वी. चैनलों के समाचार संपादकों, देवियों और सज्जनों!

इस आयोजन के स्वागताध्यक्ष के नाते मुझे आज की इस महत्त्वपूर्ण संगोष्ठी में राजनीति के अनेक महारथियों सहित समाज–जीवन और भारतीय संस्कृति के महारथी पुरुषों का स्वागत करने का सौभाग्य मिल रहा है, मैं इस अवसर पर स्वागत समिति के अन्य सभी सदस्यों की ओर से आप सबका हार्दिक स्वागत और अभिनंदन करता हूँ।

यह संगोष्ठी, भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर विचार–विमर्श करने और समाज के समक्ष इसके गुणावगुणों की प्रस्तुति के लिए रखी गई है।

आप जानते ही हैं कि जब संविधान बन रहा था तब संविधान निर्माताओं के स्वप्न में भी यह बात नहीं थी कि आगे चलकर इसकी उद्देशिका में ''पंथनिरपेक्ष'' और ''समाजवाद'' जैसे शब्द जुड़ेंगे। आपात्काल के दौरान भारत के संविधान की उद्देशिका में ''समाजवादी और पंथ निरपेक्ष'' शब्द जोड़ दिए गए थे, जिन्हें हमारी जनता को अंगीकृत और आत्मार्पित करने की बाध्यता रही। मैं इस अवसर पर पंथ निरपेक्षता और सेक्यूलरवाद भाब्दों की चीरफाड़ नहीं कर रहा हूँ बल्कि आप सब प्रबुद्ध श्रोताओं, पत्रकारों आदि सबसे यह अनुरोध करता हूँ कि सेक्युलरवाद का चेहरा विकृत हो रहा है और इसका झुकाव एक तरफ होता दिखाई पड़ रहा है, जिसके कारण देश का बहुसंख्यक समाज अपने आपको उपेक्षित और छला गया महसूस कर रहा है, क्योंकि गाँव–गाँव में हमारी जनता को यह लग रहा है कि सेक्युलरवाद के नाम पर पाखण्ड ओर ढोंग बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। आप इस संगोष्ठी में इन सब पहलुओं पर विचार करते हुए मार्गदर्शन करें जिससं यहाँ बैठे हुए पत्रकार सारे देश में एक ऐसा संदेश दे सकें, जो नई दिशाओं का दीपक प्रज्वलित करें।

मैं दीपक भारद्वाज, एक बार पुनः इस विशेष अवसर पर आप सब महानुभावों का सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान की ओर से हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं यह अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह संस्था जब से बनी है, यानि लगभग 8 वर्ष पहले से ही मेरा इसके साथ निकट का नाता रहा है और मैं इसके निर्माण और प्रगति का विनम्र साक्षी हूँ। मुझे आनन्द और गौरव की अनुभूति है कि 8 वर्ष की छोटी सी अवधि में निष्ठावान् कार्यकर्ताओं के परिश्रम से संस्था की ओर से उपयोगी साहित्य प्रकाशित हुआ है, एक द्विमासिक पत्रिका ''गौरव घोष'' भी निरंतर प्रकाशित हो रही है। अनेक नगरों और प्रदेशों में इसकी शाखाएं और चेप्टर बन गए हैं। अनेक उच्चस्तरीय वैज्ञानिक, प्रोफेसर, सेना के जनरल, एयर मार्शल, इंजीनियर आदि इस संस्था के कार्य में सेवाभाव से सहयोग दे रहे हैं। वि वास है कि आप सबका भी मूल्यवान् सहयोग इस संस्था को मिलेगा।

जय हिन्द!

दीपक भारद्वाज
16–ए पालम मार्ग वसंत विहार
नई दिल्ली

भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति

डॉ0 सुरेन्द्र जैन
केन्द्रीय मंत्री, विश्व हिन्दू परिाद

सेक्युलरिज़्म एक ऐसा भाब्द है जिसकी सही व्याख्या किए बिना भारत में इसका सबसे अधिक उपयोग किया गया है। सामान्यतः इसका अर्थ लिया जाता है कि किसी धार्मिक मामलों में सरकार हस्तक्षेप नहीं करेगी। लेकिन कोई व्यक्ति अगर कहता है कि उसका मज़हब पंथ भिन्न मतावलम्बियों को मारने का आदेश देता है तो क्या सरकार हस्तक्षेप नहीं करेगी? इस पर चर्चा आवश्यक है। मैं इसका अर्थ समझता हूँ सर्वपंथ सद्भाव। यदि इस पर स्वीकृति है तो किसी को यह सबक भारत को सिखाने की जरूरत नहीं क्योंकि हिन्दू तो पहले ही इस सिद्धांत का पालन करता है। अपितु भारत में अगर सेक्युलरिज़्म है तो केवल इसी कारण कि भारत हिन्दू बहुल है। यहाँ सेक्युलरिज़्म किसी राजनेता कि मेहरबानी से नहीं अपितु हिन्दू समाज में अनादि काल से चली आ रही परम्परा के कारण है जिसमें ''वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्'' व ''एकम्सद् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति'' का घोष होता रहा है।

यदि इस परिभाषा को मानें तो क्या हम वास्तव में सेक्युलर हैं?

- भारतीय संविधान में धारा 25, 26, 29, 30 अल्पसंख्यकों को विशेषाधिकार देती हैं। क्या किसी देश में ऐसे विशेषाधिकार दिए जाते रहे हैं?
- अल्पसंख्यक की परिभाषा भी नहीं दी गई। अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मानदंड कहते है कि बाहर से आने वाले, जिनकी आबादी 10 प्रति ात से कम है, अल्पसंख्यक माने जाएंगे। परन्तु भारतीय मुसलमान जिनके 90 प्रतिशत पूर्वज हिंदू थे और जो भारत की आबदी का 14 प्रतिशत हैं अल्पसंख्यक माने जा रह हैं और वे अल्पसंख्यकों को मिलने वाले लाभों का दोहन कर रहे हैं।
- भारत में अलग–अलग आचार संहिताएं हैं। क्या किसी भी सेक्युलर देश में ऐसा हो सकता है?
- हज यात्रा के लिए अरबों रुपयों की सब्सिडी दी जाती है। हज यात्रा में खर्च होने वाले पैसे को (आयकर विवरणी) I–Tax में दिखाने की जरूरत नहीं जबकि **मानसरोवर यात्रा पर सब्सिडी तो दूर, खर्च होने वाले पैसे को विदेश यात्रा पर हुआ खर्च माना जाता है।**
- **अव्यवस्था के नाम पर केवल हिंदू मंदिरों का अधिग्रहण किया जाता** है। क्या किसी अन्य मतावलम्बियों के पूजा स्थल पर अव्यवस्था नही होती? क्या एक भी चर्च या मस्जिद का अधिग्रहण किया गया है? इन अधिग्रहीत मंदिरों का राजनीतिक उपयोग व चढ़ावे के पैसे का मनमाना उपयोग किया जाता है। एक राज्य में तो हज यात्रा की सब्सिडी के लिए इस राशि का उपयोग किया गया।
- हिंदुओं के Personal code में बार–बार परिवर्तन होता है व हिंदू प्रगतिशील होने के कारण स्वीकार भी करता है जबकि मुसलमानों के Personal Code को छेड़ने की भी हिम्मत नहीं है। फिर भी हिंदू को ही Fundamentalist (कट्टरवादी) कहा जाता है।
- जिन मुसलमानों ने भारत पर लगभग 1000 साल राज किया उनको पिछड़ा हुआ मानकर सभी क्षेत्रों में आरक्षण की सुविधा देने के लिए राजेन्द्र सच्चर कमेटी बनाई गई जो वास्तव में भारत के एक और विभाजन की नींव तैयार कर रही है। जबकि सैंकड़ों व ाों तक गुलाम रहे हिंदू अपने ही देश में दूसरे दर्जे के नागरिक बन कर रह गए परन्तु उनकी दुर्दशा पर कोई विचार नहीं करता।
- जम्मू–काश्मीर में वर्तमान सरकार की व्यवस्था में पहली बार किसी हिंदू के मुख्यमंत्री की संभावना थी, परन्तु मुस्लिम जनमानस की प्रतिक्रिया को देखते हुए एक मुसलमान को ही बनाया गया। जबकि हिंदू बहुल भारत तीन बार मुसलमानों को भारत के सर्वोच्च पद पर सहज रूप से स्वीकार कर चुका है।

- ✤ सऊदी अरब के आदेश को स्वीकार करके क्यों एक मुसलमान को ही वहाँ का राजदूत बनाया जाता है? ऐसे न जाने कितने यक्ष प्रश्न हैं जो हमसे पूछते हैं कि क्या वास्तव में भारत एक सेक्युलर देश है?

दुर्भाग्य से सेक्युलर भाब्द का प्रयोग केवल मुस्लिम वोट बैंक निर्माण करने के लिए किया जाने लगा है। तथाकथित अल्पसंख्यकों को भड़काने वाले सेक्युलर कहलाने लगे तथा देश के बहुसंख्यक समाज के हितों का पोषण करने वालों को वे साम्प्रदायिक कहने लगे। सेक्युलर राजनीति करने वाले संविधान की उपेक्षा का आरोप लगातें हैं, जबकि गहराई से देखने पर उल्टा दिखाई देता है।

- ✤ अभी कुछ दिन पहले ही सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने आदेश दिया कि अल्पसंख्यकवाद बंद होना चाहिए अन्यथा यह भारत को एक और विभाजन की ओर ले जाएगा। जबकि सभी सेक्युलर दल अल्पसंख्यकवाद को बढ़ावा देते हैं।

- ✤ **संविधान की धारा 44 समान नागरिक संहिता बनाने का आदेश देती है।** उच्चतम न्यायालय भी 5 अलग–अलग मामलों में ऐसे ही आदेश दे चुका है। इसके बावजूद सेक्युलर राजनीति करने वाले समान नागरिक संहिता का विरोध करते हैं।

- ✤ **संविधान के निदेशक सिद्धांत गो हत्या पर प्रतिबंध का आदेश देते हैं।** दो अलग–अलग मामलों में उच्चतम न्यायालय ने निर्णय दिया कि गोहत्या किसी का अधिकार नहीं हो सकता। गोहत्या के गैरकानूनी काम का समर्थन करने वाले सेक्युलर तथा गोरक्षा कर के संविधान की रक्षा करने वाले साम्प्रदायिक कहे जा रहे हैं।

- ✤ न्यायपालिका बार–बार यह निर्णय दे चुकी है कि धार्मिक आधार पर आरक्षण नहीं दिया जा सकता। परन्तु देश की प्रमुख सेक्युलर पार्टी (कांग्रेस) इन निर्णयों की अवहेलना करके बार–बार यही कोशिश कर रही है।

- ✤ IMDT (असम में घुसे हुए बंगलादेशियों की पहचान करके उन्हें बाहर निकालने हेतु बना अधिनियम) मामले में उच्चतम न्यायालय ने इसे रद्द करते हुए आदेश दिया कि बंग्लादेशियों की पहचान कर इन्हें भारत से निकाला जाए। दिल्ली उच्च न्यायालय ने भी बंग्लादेि ायों को भारत से निकालने का आदेश दिया। परन्तु सेक्युलर राजनीतिबाज़ न केवल इनका स्वागत कर रहे हैं अपितु सब प्रकार के कुकर्मों के बावजूद इनको संरक्षण दे रहे हैं। श्री सोमनाथ चटर्जी ने तो बंग्लादेशियों के आँकड़ों को लेकर उच्चतम न्यायालय को चुनौती दे डाली।

- ✤ उड़ीसा में मतान्तरण कर रहे पादरी स्टेन्स की हत्या के केस में **उच्चतम न्यायालय ने स्पष्ट कहा कि धर्मान्तरण किसी का अधिकार नहीं है।** बलपूर्वक, छलकपट व धोखे से धर्मान्तरण गैरकानूनी है। परन्तु सेक्युलरवादी धर्मान्तरण के गैरकानूनी काम का समर्थन करते हैं। धर्मान्तरण का विरोध करने वालों को साम्प्रदायिक कहा जाता है।

- ✤ धारा 370 एक तात्कालिक तथा अस्थायी व्यवस्था थी। इसके लिए नेहरु जी ने कहा था ''यह घिसते–घिसते घिस जाएगी।'' परन्तु आज धारा 370 का समर्थन करके उसे अघोषित रूप से स्थायी बना दिया गया है, इन सेक्युलरिस्टों ने।

ऐसा लगता है कि सेक्युलर राजनीति करने वालों ने संविधान को अपने पैरों की जूती समझ लिया है जिसको वे जब चाहे पैरों में डाल दें व जब चाहे विरोधियों के सिर पर मारने के लिए उपयोग कर सकते हैं। क्या भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति का मतलब संविधान से खिलवाड़ है?

कुछ वर्तमान घटनाओं ने तो इस सेक्युलर राजनीति के खोखलेपन को उजागर कर दिया है। **मकबूल फिदा हुसैन (चित्रकार) ने हिंदू देवी–देवताओं और भारत मां के नंगे चित्र बनाए।** कुछ देशभक्तों के विरोध करने पर कहा गया कि यह साम्प्रदायिकता है तथा अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता पर हमला है। परन्तु जब पैग़म्बर मोहम्मद के चित्र डेनमार्क में छपे तो भारत में स्थान–स्थान पर हिंसक प्रद ान हुए जिनमें **हिन्दुओं को निशाना बनाया गया तथा बेहूदे फतवे जारी किए गए।** उस समय इन सेक्युलर राजनीतिज्ञों ने कहा कि उनका गुस्सा जायज़ है। किसी की धार्मिक भावना से खिलवाड़ उचित नहीं है।

क्या भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति का मतलब दोगलापन है? यहाँ यह भी विचार करने योग्य है कि क्यों मुस्लिम समाज मध्य कालीन बर्बरता की ओर बढ़ रहा है।

इन सेक्युलर राजनीतिबाज़ों ने ही तुष्टिकरण को बढ़ावा दिया है तथा कठमुल्लावाद को। इन्होंने ही भारत के मुस्लिम समाज को मध्यकालीन जेहादी मानसिकता में धकेला है जिसका परिणाम देश में बढ़ता हुआ आतंकवाद है। का मीर की समस्या, संसद पर हमला, काशी–अयोध्या में विस्फोट, गोधरा रेलवे स्टेशन में 59 हिंदुओं को जलाया जाना, आतंकवाद के कारण 31 हजार सैनिकों की हत्या तथा 50 हजार मासूम नागरिकों की मौत इसी सेक्युलर राजनीति की सौगात है। ऐसा लगता है भारत ज्वालामुखी के मुहाने पर बैठा है। सेक्युलर राजनीति के कारण भारत का एक विभाजन हो चुका है। अब इनकी भाह पर जेहादी एक अन्य विभाजन की तैयारी कर रहे हैं। भारत को एक Soft State बना दिया गया है। **कहीं भारत की सेक्युलर राजनीति देशद्रोह का दूसरा नाम तो नहीं है?**

सेक्युलर राजनीति भारत को मुस्लिम राज्य बनाने की दिशा में ले जा रही है। भारत के सामने दो ही विकल्प हैं, एक मुस्लिम इंडिया बने व दूसरा हिंदू रा ट्र बने। यदि मुस्लिम राज्य बना तो क्या यहाँ कथित सेक्युलरिज़्म जीवित बचेगा, क्या यहाँ संतों की आत्मकल्याण की वाणी गूंज रही होगी, क्या मंदिरों में घंटों का नांद गूज रहा होगा, क्या सहअस्तित्व का भाा वत सिद्धांत बचेगा, क्या हम गीता, रामायण, वेद, उपनि ाद्, गुरुग्रन्थ साहिब रख सकेंगे? यहाँ बचेंगे तो केवल नफरत भरे जेहादी नारे, बारूद की गंध और गोलियों की तड़तड़ाहट। यदि सेक्युलरिज़्म की सही परिभाषा स्वीकार की जाए तो भारत न तो अब सेक्युलर है, न अंग्रेजों के समय सेक्युलर था और न ही अकबर या किसी मुसलमान बाद ााह के राज्य में। भारत में सर्वपंथ सद्भाव तभी रहा है जब भारत में हिंदू का राज्य रहा है और यही भारत में सेक्युलरिज़्म की गारंटी है।

इस्लाम से हारती लड़ाई लड़ने वाले हम

डॉ0 सूर्यकान्त बाली

इसमें कोई भाक नहीं कि **आज भारत में, केन्द्र और प्रदेशों में बनने वाली हर सरकार अल्पसंख्यकवाद की गिरफ्त में है और देश की हर छोटी–बड़ी पार्टी अल्पसंख्यकों के तुष्टीकरण में लगी है। यहाँ अल्पसंख्यकों से मतलब प्रायः हमेशा देश के मुसलमानों से ही मुख्यरूप से होता है, ईसाइयों में उससे थोड़ा कम** और भो ा अल्पसंख्यकों, यानी सिखों, जैनों, बोद्धों से इसका कोई मतलब प्रायः नहीं होता। मुस्लिम तु टीकरण के इतने ज्यादा नमूने देश के सामने आ चुके हैं कि उन्हें फिर से यहाँ गिनवाना समय की बर्बादी ही माना जाएगा। पर दो नवीनतम घटनाओं की ओर संकेत कर देना ठीक रहेगा।

पहली नवीनतम घटना यह है कि अब देश की विदेश नीति भी देश के मुसलमानों की खुशी और नाराजगी को ध्यान में रखकर बनाई जाने लगी है। हर देश अपनी विदेश नीति का निर्धारण अपने राष्ट्र हितों के आधार पर करता है। भारत भी प्रायः ऐसा करता रहा है। पर इधर जब ईरान के परमाणु भाक्ति बनने पर भारत के वोट का मामला उठा तो देश के मुसलमानों और उनके हिमायती वामपंथियों ने मनमोहन सिंह सरकार को गिरा देने की प्रच्छन्न धमकी के साथ चेतावनी जारी कर दी कि ईरान के खिलाफ वोट न दिया जाए। **सारी दुनिया जानती है कि पिछले कुछ समय से ईरान एक देश के रूप में गैर–जिम्मेदार राजनीति का अड्डा बना हुआ है** और ऐसे गैर–जिम्मेदार दे ा के हाथों में एटम बम नहीं होना चाहिए, क्योंकि पूरी मानवता को उससे खतरा पैदा हो जाएगा। इधर सारा भारत मानता है कि ईरान के रूप में भारत के पड़ोस में एक अणु ाक्ति संपन्न देश का उभरना हमारी सुरक्षा के लिए ठीक नहीं। पर भारत के मुसलमान ईरान के हाथों में, पाकिस्तान की तरह, अगर एटम बम देखना चाहते हैं तो सवाल पूछा जाएगा कि क्या भारत के मुसलमानों के विचार में राष्ट्रीय हितों की परिभाषा या उनका महत्त्व वह या वैसा नहीं है जैसा शेष भारतवासियों का है? हमें भूलना नहीं चाहिए कि कैसे मनमोहन सिंह सरकार एक बार तो इस दबाव में आकर अपनी नीति बदलने को तैयार हो ही गई थी। पर अंततः वैसा नहीं हुआ, यह कहानी अलग है।

दूसरी घटना इससे भी ज्यादा खतरनाक है। दुनियाभर में अब इस तरह का प्रचार किया जाने लगा है कि (इंडोनेशिया के बाद) भारत दुनिया का सर्वाधिक मुस्लिम आबादी वाला देश है। पिछली एन.डी.ए. (राजग) सरकार समेत देश की हर केन्द्र सरकार और देश की हर राजनीतिक पार्टी इस तरह के प्रचार में रुचि लेने लगी है। इस तर्क के आधार पर कि भारत सर्वाधिक मुस्लिम आबादी वाला देश है, **हमारी सरकारें पिछले कुछ समय से ओ.आई.सी. (ऑर्गनाइज़ेशन ऑफ इस्लामिक कंट्रीज़) की सदस्यता के लिए आवेदन करने लग गई हैं।** आवेदन की गिड़गिड़ाहट इस हद तक है कि दलील दी जा रही है कि अगर एकदम पूर्ण सदस्यता संभव नहीं है तो भारत को फिलहाल ओ.आई.सी. का प्रेक्षक सदस्य (आब्ज़र्वर मेंबर) ही बना दिया जाए। हमें किसी गफलत में नहीं रहना चाहिए कि इस तरह की गिड़गिड़ाहट को देखते हुए अगर भारत आज ओ.आई.सी. का हिस्सा (किसी भी रूप में) बन जाता है तो वह समय दूर नहीं जब भारत को, जिसे आज सर्वाधिक मुस्लिम आबादी वाला देश कहा जाने लगा है, कल को बाकायदा मुस्लिम देश ही कह दिया जाएगा। सारी दुनिया उसे वैसा मान भी लेगी और फिर मांग उठने ही वाली है कि इस बात को भारत के संविधान में दर्ज किया जाए। उसके बाद क्या–क्या होगा, बताने की जरूरत है क्या?

अगर ऐसा हुआ तो भारत के हिन्दुओं की तथा भारत के हिन्दुत्व की इस्लाम के खिलाफ लड़ाई में उसकी नवीनतम पराजय होगी। हमें शुरू से ही स्पष्ट रहना चाहिए कि भारत के हिन्दुत्व की लड़ाई भारत के मुसलमान से नहीं है। **लड़ाई हिन्दुत्व और इस्लाम के बीच है।** यह लड़ाई मध्यकाल में इस्लामी ताकतों के भारत के खिलाफ रुख करने के साथ ही शुरू हो गई थी। हिन्दुत्व इस्लाम से यह लड़ाई तभी से लड़ रहा है। सामाजिक स्तर पर भी, आध्यात्मिक स्तर पर भी और राजनीतिक स्तर पर भी। और हमें साफ तौर पर यह समझ में आ जाना चाहिए कि हिन्दुत्व इस्लाम के विरुद्ध अपनी इस चौतरफा लड़ाई में लगातार हारा है और अभी भी हार रहा है। वह लगातार हारती हुई लड़ाई लड़ रहा है।

क्या कुछ उदाहरण पेश किए जाएं? **आज भारत उपमहाद्वीप में पचीस–तीस करोड़ की मुस्लिम आबादी** (जो लगभग शतप्रतिशत धर्मान्तरित हिन्दू हैं) **क्या हिन्दुत्व की इस्लाम के साथ लड़ाई में**

सामाजिक और आध्यात्मिक पराजय नहीं है? आठवीं–नौवीं सदी के ईरान का, जो वैदिक और बौद्ध संस्कृतियों से ओत–प्रोत था, शतप्रतिशत इस्लामी होकर भारत के सांस्कृतिक परिवेश से हमेशा के लिए अलग हो जाना हिन्दुत्व द्वारा लड़ी जा रही हारती हुई लड़ाई का प्राचीनतम नमूना है। यह नमूना इस हद तक कष्टकारक है कि **आज का हिन्दुत्व अपनी भारतवर्षी यात्रा के इस प्राचीनतम विभाजन को पूरी तरह से भूल चुका है। हिन्दुत्व अपनी दूसरी बड़ी लड़ाई तब हारा जब 1761 ई. में अहमदशाह अब्दाली ने अफगानिस्तान नामक पृथक देश की घोषणा करके भारतवर्ष के दूसरे बड़े विभाजन का सूत्रपात कर दिया। इस देश का हिन्दुत्व इस दूसरे विभाजन को भी हमेशा के लिए भूल चुका है इसलिए वह सिर्फ 1947 के विभाजन को ही देश का विभाजन मानता है जबकि वह अपने भारतवर्ष का तीसरा विभाजन था।** ईरान और अफगानिस्तान के बाद पाकिस्तान का बनना हमारा तीसरा विभाजन था। वैसे देश में अब एक ताकतवर मुहिम चल चुकी है कि सन् 1947 के विभाजन को वि व–भूगोल की सच्चाई मानकर भुला दिया जाए और पाकिस्तान का सच स्वीकार कर लिया जाए।

इस्लाम के खिलाफ हारती हुई लड़ाई लड़ने को अभिशप्त हिन्दुत्व के सामने अब दो–चार और विभाजनों के खतरे मुंह बाए खड़े हैं। कश्मीर किस वक्त भारत से अलग हो जाएगा, कौन जानता है? और कौन दावा कर सकता है कि ऐसा कभीं नहीं होगा। एक करोड़ बांग्लादेशी घुसपैठियों के भारत का नागरिक और वोटर बन जाने के बाद असम कब तक भारत का भाग बना रहेगा, कौन छाती पर हाथ रखकर कह सकता है? कश्मीर से अरुणाचल प्रदेश तक फैली उत्तरी पट्टी, जिसे वहाँ के लोगों ने अब आपसी बातचीत में मुगलिस्तान कहना शुरू कर दिया है, कब स्वतंत्र मुगलिस्तान घोषित हो जाएगा, कौन कह सकता है?

हिन्दुत्व इस्लाम के खिलाफ लगातार लड़ाई लड़ रहा है, पर वह लगातार हारती हुई लड़ाई लड़ रहा है। ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है? क्यों हिन्दुत्व इस्लाम के खिलाफ लगातार हारती हुई लड़ाई लड़ने को विवश है? आज के संदर्भों को समझने में कठिनाई नहीं आएगी। आज भारत में करीब 85 प्रतिशत आबादी हिन्दू है और यह वह हिन्दू आबादी है जिसने सन् 1991 की जनगणना में खुद को हिन्दू लिखवाया है। मुस्लिम आबादी करीब 12 प्रति ात है और शेष तीन प्रतिशत में सिख, जैन, बौद्ध, पारसी इत्यादि आते हैं। आज भी (और तमाम ऐतिहासिक कालखंडों में भी) इस 85 प्रतिशत हिन्दू आबादी को पता नहीं कि उसने 12 प्रतिशत मुस्लिमों का क्या करना है। क्या करना है, इस सवाल का जवाब वह नहीं हो सकता जो गुजरात में हुआ। गुजरात मॉडल किसी जगद्गुरु सभ्यता का मॉडल नहीं हो सकता है। स्पष्ट है कि 85 प्रतिशत के पास 12 प्रतिशत के लिए कोई योजना नहीं, कोई विचार नहीं, कोई दृष्टि नहीं। दूसरी ओर 12 प्रतिशत को हमेशा से स्पष्ट रहा है कि 85 प्रतिशत का क्या करना है। पहले ईरान फिर अफगानिस्तान, फिर पाकिस्तान फिर संभावित क मीर–असम–मुगलिस्तान, फिर संभावित ओ.आई.सी. फार्मूला–**जाहिर है कि 12 प्रतिशत के पास अपना रोडमैप है। 85 प्रतिशत के पास न रोड है न मैप है।**

मुस्लिम आबादी की बात को अगर एक किनारे कर दें तो कडवी सच्चाई यह है कि 85 प्रतिशत के पास उस 3 प्रतिशत के लिए भी योजना, कोई विचार नहीं है (दृष्टि शायद है) कि उस आबादी का क्या करना है जिसके सिख, बौद्ध, जैन घटक तो खुद को प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष रूप से उसी आध्यात्मिक–सामाजिक परम्परा का हिस्सा मानते हैं जिस परम्परा को 85 प्रतिशत आबादी ने सदियों से पोषित–पल्लवित किया है। **देश का हिन्दुत्व अगर तीन प्रतिशत आबादी के प्रति भी योजनाविहीन है तो उसका कारण सिर्फ और सिर्फ यही है कि खुद 85 प्रतिशत अपने आप के बारे में ही स्पष्ट नहीं है कि वे कौन हैं, उनकी परिभाषा क्या है, उनकी आकृति क्या है, उनकी चेतना क्या है और उनके होने का भारत के लिए क्या मतलब है।**

मतलब पता होता तो वह ईरान नहीं भूलता, अफगानिस्तान उसे याद होता और पाकिस्तान ने उसे मथ दिया होता। यह आत्मप्रताड़ना नहीं है, आत्मालोचन है। यह वह आत्मालोचन है और चूंकि यह सत्य है, इसलिए कटु यथार्थ भी है। इससे खुंदक खाने की जरूरत नहीं और न ही यह सत्य बताने वाले को कोसने या नकारने से काम चलेगा। तभी समझ में आ जाएगा कि क्यों हिन्दुत्व सदियों से इस्लाम से लड़ रहा है। अल्पसंख्यक तुष्टिकरण इसी का एक नमूना है, नवीनतम नमूना।

PSEUDO-SECULARISM :
THE PROMOTER OF DISUNITY

B.P. Singhal

""I think India has led with one major extended event that began about 1000 A.D., the Muslim invasion. It meant the cracking open and partial wrecking of what was a complete cultural,religious world until that invasion,""[Sir Vidyadhar Naipaul interviewed by Rahul Singh,The Times Of India, 23rd January 1998]

""I think ,when you see so many Hindu temples of the tenth century or earlier times disfigured,defaced, you know that they were not just defaced for fun; that something terrible happened.I feel that the civilization of that closed world was mortally wounded by those invasions."" [Sir Vidyadhar Naipaul interviewed by Sadanand Menon in The Hindu,dated 5.7.1998]

30,000 temples had been demolished completly, and as per Sitaram Goyal"s book, ""Hindu Temples; What happened to them? there are over 3000 mosques which are standing today where formerly important Hindu temples existed. **During the 1980"s,64 important Hindu temples had been destroyed in Kashmir. Even as late as March 2001,4 Hindu temples had been destoyed in Kanpur city.** Nevertheless, the Hindus today have decided to forgive & forget all that carnage and put it behind them. But, they (Hindus) are not prepared to forego their right to construct grand temples at Ayodhya, Kashi and Mathura. The reason behind this seemingly mysterious forgivness on such a massive scale on the one hand, and the absolute reluctance to forgive in respect of Ayodhya, Kashi & Mathura is not far to seek; All the other thousands of temples had been completly demolished, but in the case of these three, as was the case with Somnath, **they were only half demolished and thereafter the domes of Mosques were mounted on them in a deliberately offensive manner to drive home to the millions of Hindus, who visit these three temples from every nook & corner of the country, the message that the MIGHT OF ISLAM is outraging the grace and modesty of the holiest of holy Hindu temples.**

Lest the so called secularists feel alarmed at this interpretation, it would be pertinent to quote what the world-renowned British Historian, Sir Arnold Toynbee, said in this context while delivering the Azad Memorial Lecture in 1960 (see; "One World & India" published by National Book Trust, pages 59-61) ***After winning back their independence from the Russians in 1980, Toynbee found little to blame the Polish people (Christian themselves) for pulling down the Russian Gothic Cathedral in the Square of Warsaw that was built by the victorious Russians in 1814-15.Toynbee stated,""the purpose for which the Russians had built it had not been religious, but political and the purpose had also been intentionally offensive. I do greatly praise the Indian Government for not having pulled down Aurangazeb"s mosque. I am thinking particularly of two that overlook the Ghats at Banaras and one that crowns Krishna"s hill at Mathura. Aurangzeb"s purpose in building those three mosques was the same intentionally offensive political prupose that moved the Russians to building the Cathedral in Warsaw.Those three mosques were intended to signify that an Islamic Government was reigning supreme even over Hinduism"s holiest of holies."" He further stated that, ""This particular example of Indian tolerance has moved me to admiration tempered by twinges of excruciation."***

If today the Hindus are demanding the restoraton of Ayodhya, Kashi &Mathura, for constructing grand temples at the sites that are the sacred-most to them ,it is nothing in comparison to what they have already decided to forego. This is specially so because as per the Shariat, these places are religiously unfit for the performance of Namaz in the light of three very specific injunctions placed by the Shariat and the Islamic tradition. All the four Schools of Muslim jurisprudence categorically state that no mosque can be constructed at any disputed spot

no matter if the dispute occurred before the mosque was constructed or later. As it happens in these three cases, mosques at Ayodhya, Kashi & Mathura had been mounted on half demolished temples and were thus inherently unauthorized and disputable sites. The second injunction is that Namaz performed at any disputed site is not acceptable to the Lord. Lastly, there is the instance (in the History of Islam) where Khalifa Omar Bin Abdul Aziz in the year 100 Hijri had ordered the demolition of a mosque in Damishk for handing over the younger brother who had been a party to the giving over of that co-owned land in waqf for the construction of the mosque by his elder brother.

For the Hindus, a temple at the Sri Ram Janmabhoomi is not an issue of mere brick and mortar. It is an issue of Hindu culture identity and its resurgence. It is an issue related to the restoration of Hindu self -respect and the release of the strangulated Hindu ethos. On November 9,1947, Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel, the then Dy, Prime Minister of Bharat, accompanied by Shri Narhari Vitthal Gadgil, Kanhaiyalal Maniklal Munshi and Jam Saheb of Nava Nagar declared in a public meeting, his resolve to install the Jyotirlinga at the very same Somnath Temple which was ravaged, looted and ransacked repeatedly by the invaders from Mahmud Ghazni to Aurangazeb. This was a classic example of the expression of collective consciousness of a nation. The same day, Sri K.M. Munshi had declared; ***""the Hindu sentiments in regard to this temple is both strong and widespread. In the present conditions, it is unlikely that the sentiments will be satisfied by mere restoration of the temple or by prolonging its life. The restoration of the idol would be a point of honour and sentiment with the Hindu public.""***

It was in this background that the then President of Bharat Dr.Rajendra Prasad Ji personally inaugurated the redeemed Somnath temple, but before Ayodhya, Kashi &Mathura, could be similarly redeemed, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and the **founder of pseudo-secularism** in this country, blocked all efforts in that direction.

The construction of the Shri Rama temple at Ayodhya, therefore, is merely incidental to the much wider quest for the restoration of Hindu honour and selfrespect .

These same secularists, aided and abetted by the leftist forces, gave to our country a Constitution.

The name given to this country is India, as also Bharat . The language of the country is Hindi as also English. Instead of the ancient traditional saffron flag of this land, these secularists foisted the tri-colours of the Congress flag as the colours of the national flag, but rejected to "Vande Mataram"", the status of a national anthem-""VANDE MATARAM"", the song, that had inspired millions of freedom fighters during the freedom struggle. ""VANDE MATARAM"" used to be the last words of innumerable martyrs when they were being taken to the gallows. But the immortal song ""VANDE MATARAM"" could not become the National Anthem. Why? because one section of the peole was averse to Vande Mataram, Accordingy, **""Jana Gana Mana (a song composed in honour of the visiting King George, the V, the British monarch) was approved as the national anthem.** It was after a lot of effort that ""Vande Mataram"" was also declared as the national song.The country thus got one national anthem and one national song.The hallowed ancient Indian culture was rechristened and given the name of ""composite ""culture As though after the Yamuna, merged into the sacred Ganga it should be called a ""composite river"". The country was sought to be governed under two different kinds of civil laws -one for the rest of the country and one for other section of the people.

In other words, today the country"s name is not one, its language is not one, its national song is not one, its civil laws are not one, its cultural heritage is not one and, yet, for the last 56 years these very secularists have been bluffing the people by claiming that they want to see the whole of India as ONE. The truth is that the seeds of communal divide had been sown right at the birth of this Republic and the perpetuated through the policy of appeasement of the Muslims.

Nation"s Name-National Language-National Song-Civil Laws-National Culture, all go to define and symbolize the identity of any nation. These secularists thus deprived Bharat of its age old identity even while it was getting born as an independent Republic in the comity of nations.

The most disastrous consequence of the policy of pseudo-secularism pursued by governments after government in this country is that the ***Hindu today, has been reduced to a second class citizen while the Muslims got the status of first-class-may special class-citizens of this country*** .The illustrations given below amply bear this out;-

1) As per the Constitution of Bharat the minorities have absolute and unfettered right to run their religious Institutions and Madarsas .They are the sole arbiters of their sylla-bus. They enjoy unfettered right to appoint teachers of their choice. Not only this, they have complete freedom to receive donations from outside Bharat for running their Schools. On the other hand, Hindu religious teachings are forbidden in Government Schools. As a consequence, the country has witnessed an increasing degree of religious fanaticism among the Muslims while the Hindus have been torn asunder from the roots of their own religion. The result is that, after 59 years of Independence, the Hindus feel shy even in calling themselves""Hindu"".This is a symptom of second -class citizen. On the other hand, the special-class citizen Shahi Imam very proudly states that he is a Muslim first and an Indian later.

2) The Hindu Code Bill was merrily overhauled by the parliament . But the Muslim Personal Law dared not be touched . Not only this,a very healthy decision given by the Supreme Court in the overriding interest of Muslim women was promptly turned upside down by amending the constitution itself because the Supreme Court judgement went against their religious tenets.***This remarkable undermining of a Supreme Court Judgement for a legislative solution of Ayodhya.is being spurned by all secularists as well as the media.*** How can second class citizens dare to ask for a special legislation to meet their religious demands?Second class citizens are second class citizens.They should know that this is a secular country.

3) During the Kuwait war,at a cost of Rs.3500 per person scores of additional flights of Indian Airlines were lined up to bring back the thousands of stranded workers that were working in Kuwait because the bulk of them were Muslims. On the other hand, not even 35 rupees were spent on the three lakh Kashmiri Pandit refugees who had to flee Kashmir because of the barbaric attacks by Muslim fundamentalists.This then is the difference of treatment meted out by the Government to special class citizens on the one hand and second-class citizens on the other.This is secularism in action.

4) As per reply to a Parliament question, a subsidy of 12000 rupees per person is given to Haj Pilgrims whose numbers have been mounting consistently every year. In 200, subsidy was granted to 70,913 Haj pilgrims at a cost of over 85 crores. On the other hand,the Hindu pilgrims going to Goverdhan, Badrinath or Kedarnath, etc. have to pay Yatri Tax . The question of asking for subsidies for the pilgrims wanting go to Mansarover or Kailas can not arise because Hindus are second-class citizens in this country. ***Principles of secularism prohibit granting of subsidies to Hindu Pilgrims.***

5) Indira Gandhi gave a grant of Rs. 30 Lakhs,V.P.Singh gave Rs.40Lakhs and the secular Government from 1990 to 1996 spent a total of Rs.98,89,000,**all for the so called repairs of the Jama Masjid.** After all, the worship place of special class citizen in the capital has to be repaired by providing them grants from the archaeological department of the Government ***whereas thousands of years old temples of Badrinath, Kedarnath, etc have never been sanctioned a single paisa for their repairs.*** Doling out Govt. grants for the repairs of worship places of second class citizens like the Hindus would be violative

of the principles of secularism! ***The Hindus should remember that they are second class citizens.***

6) Explosive , A K47s,and even actual terrorists have been recovered from some Mosques in this country. The Mosques of Hazrat Bal and Chirare Sharif were actually used as hide-outs for months on the end by the terrorists, but no action could be dared to be taken against those Mosques. On the other hand, the slightest provocation is enough to take-over control of Hindu temples and put them under Government Administrators. Leading ancient temples like Tirupati, Kashi Vishwanath, Somnath, Ayodhya ,Vaishno Devi besides hundreds of Hindu temples oll over the country are all being managed by Government Administrators. Even the offerings running into millions of rupees that are made by pilgrims to the Dieties of Govt. run temples are appropriated by these Administrators to be spent on the discretion of the Government. This stark difference of treatment in the context of worship places of special class citizens on the one hand and the second-class citizens on the other, has been existing for decades now.

7) The terrorists themselves burnt down the Chirare Sharif Mosque in Kashmir and almost instantly a grant of Rs. one crore was sanctioned by the Government for its reconstruction. ***On the other hand , the thought of granting even a single rupee for the restoration of the 64 Hindu temples that were destroyed in the very same Kashmir during the Nineteen Eighties never occured to the Government .*** In this country. the Government purse is promptly opened only for the restoration of worship places of special class citizens and not for second class citizens like the Hindus. **This indeed is the essence of secularism.**

8) ***Every Imam, Naib Imam, Moazzin, and other functionaries functioning in all the Mosques of the country are paid salaries on the Pay Scale recently revised by the Supreme Court .Crores of rupees in grants are given to enable the payment of these salaries, but the Hindus Pujaris in temples and the Granthis in the Gurudwaras have to fend for themselves.*** After all there has to be a difference between special-class citizens and second-class citizens, because that is what secularism is all about.

9) The BSF, CRP and other, security forces used to make special visits to 18 specified predominantly Muslim cities in the country when they conducted their recruitment drives to enable the Muslims to get recruited in the security forces. No such special facility is granted to any other minority community in this country.Special class citizens deserve special treatment . That indeed is the soul of secularism.

10) 64 Major Hindu Temples were destroyed in the 1980s in Kashmir. Of course, after 6th December 1992 the Muslims went on a spree of temple destruction all over the country, specially so in the Kashmir Valley. Even in the 21st century, 4 temples were burnt down in Kanpur in March 2001, but the Hindus are exhorted in the name of traditional Hindu tolerance and generosity not to react against such barbaric acts. On the other hand, the Babri structure about which the Supreme Court in its judgment, deted 24th October 1994, had itself observed as follows; "***"Prior to December 1949 when the idols were shifted in to the disputed structure from the Ram Chabootra, worship by the devotees at the Ram Chabootra had been going on for a long time without any objection from the Muslims is beyond controversy.A controversy however is raised about use of the disputed structure as a Mosque from 1934 to 1949. One version is that afrer some disturbances in 1934,the use of the disputed structure as a Mosque had been stopped from 1934 itself and not merely from December 1949"".*** While till today this version has not been challenged let alone proved false, the Muslims all over the country went on a spree of terrible violence and bloodshed when the aforesaid Babri structure (which was a de-facto legally functioning Hindu temple since 1949)was destroyed. The reaction to Godhra

which remained strictly limited to the Gujarat State, has been continuously grabbing the headlines for several year now, but the large-scale bloodshed caused as a reaction to the destruction of the Babri Structure was subsided by the media within a few days. **Even the media in Bharat gives a special treatment to special-class citizens.**

11) ***Since 1947, the holidays on Hindu festivals have been gradually slashed in succeeding years, while those granted to minorities on their festival days have increased.*** This country observes an official holiday on the birthday of Prophet Mohammed (which is not given even in Islamic countries.) Such gracious benevolence by the Government at the cost of Hindu holidays is possible only for special class citizens. This is real secularism.

12) ***In 1993, the Muslim religious clerics organized a ""Qaumi Nazim"" for which the privileged Vigyan Bhawan was made available to them and the then Prime Minister Mr. Narasimha Rao, spent several hours in that exclusively communal conclave.*** On the other hand, the Dharma Sansads organized by the Hindu Saints is subjected to a network of IB sleuths to keep a watch and report on their activities to the Government. Special class citizens merit special class treatment while second-class citizens must be subjected to surveillance as per the definition of secularism in this country.

13) President Musharaff of Pakistan closed down the Madarsas and ordered massive change in their curriculam to prevent militancy among the Muslims in Pakistan, bu***t not even an inquiry is ordered on the mushroom like string of tens of thousands of illegal madarsas*** that have cropped up all over the international borders of this country-commencing from Gujarat-Rajasthan in the West to West Bengal &Tripura in the East,the entire border area along Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Myanmar has a continuous string of madarsas. To cap it all, the Ministry of Human Resource Development is providing grants of several crores of rupees for the madarsas. ***It is only natural that the madarsas of special class citizens should receive massive Government aid while the Shishu Mandirs of second-class citizens*** like the Hindus must languish without any such aid. That is the essence of secularism.

14) When the Babri structure got demolished, the Supreme Court took no time in punishing Kalyan Singh for its contempt, while the judgment of the same Supreme Court ordering the shifting of two Sunni graves in Doshipura, Varanasi , in October 1986 was never complied with. Instead of drawing up contempt proceedings, the Supreme Court kept granting extension after extention for the compliance of its own orders because that judgment affected special class citizens of this country. Those graves are still very much there. In this country, special class citizens are free not to comply with Supreme Court orders and the Supreme Court bends its laws, Second Class citizens however, are punished for contempt with promptitude. That is secularism.

15) While Dr. Praveen Bhai Togadia is promptly arrested in Rajasthan for distributing Trishuls (not withstanding the fact that the Trishuls being distributed were well within the ambit of the Arms act), yet no ***action is taken against the Shahi Imam of Delhi Jama Masjid while he defiantly proclaims that he is an ISI agent and an ardent supporter of the Talibans.*** That then, is the difference between the treatment meted out by the State to second-class and special class citizens respectively.

The above 15 are merely illustrative **examples of secularism** in action. There are scores & scores of similar instances and if all were to be cited, we could have a decent size book to expose the true brand of secularism that has been practised in this country .

The truth is that right from the beginning, rank pro-Muslim communalism has been masquerading in the guise of ""secularism"".

Despite such special treatment meted out to Muslims throughout the last 59 years, it is truly shocking when one after another, the Muslim leader of Bharat goes about proclaiming to the world that ““the Muslims in India are living in perpetual fear and are being treated as second-class citizens in this country”“. By this gimmick, they have doubtlessly been succeeding in raking in millions of petro -dollars, but the fact remains that they have been enjoying a status that is enjoyed by any son-in-law in Hindu families. They have truly enjoyed special class citizenship status right from day-one since the country became independent.

If indeed the Muslims are being treated as second -class citizens in Bharat why (then) have over 25 Million Bangladeshi Muslims abandoned their first class citizenship in their homeland and staked their life and liberty to court ““second class ““citizenship in this country? Why are thousands of illegal Pakistani Muslims immigrants continuously risking their all, and setting in India, to live a life of a ““second class ““citizen? Why tens of thousands of ““first class”“ Pakistani citizens coming into Bharat with valid visas, are vanishing into thin air only for settling in Bharat to live a life of ““prepetual fear as a second class citizen ““ in an alien country? WHY?

Why, because the truth is that Muslims in Bharat are treated as special class citizens. It is only the Hindus who are treated as second class citizens in their own homeland.

If any mother bestows all her love and gives kid-glove treatment to one son and treats the other son with callous indifference, it is inevitable that jealousy and hostility must develop even between two real brothers. **To create the communal divide through the very subtle weapon of secularism, was a deliberate ploy of the Congress to garner the block votes of the Muslim vote bank.** The Hindus of this country have been humiliated at every step both by the Govt. as well as by the media. If one is genuinely interested in knowing the kind of humiliation that Hindus are suffering, he needs only to go to Ayodhya and see the ultterly humliating conditions that the Hindu pilgrims are facing day in and day out when they go to pay their obeisance to Ram Lala at Ayodhya. Even Bhagwan Ram himself can be seen caged in seige like conditions with thousands of security forces surrounding the deity and iron barricades criss-crossing hundreds of square metres of that area. One visit to Kashi and Mathura shall prove the hideously offensive continuing utrage of these two most sacred Hindu temples by the domes of mosque in Kashi and the prayer ground of Idgah in Mathura mounted obscenely over these temples.

Suffering insults and humilations under the Moghuls and the British was doubtlessly inevitable for the Hindus, but to continue to suffer insult and humilations in their own free land, and under a Constitution that promises equality to all citizens is becoming increasingly intolerable for Hindus.

The reason for this sorry plight of the Hindus is because the Hindus are a house badly divided among themselves.Whether that division is caused by caste-consciousness, language consciousness or regional consciousness is not relevant, but the fact remains that the Hindus will continue to be treated as second -class citizens if they do not unite amongst themselves, even after all the humiliation continues to be heaped on them in the guise of ““SECULARISM.”“ In a democratic polity unity is of essence.The Muslim got special class status because they stand united and vote en-bloc.That is why all parties keep swearing by secularism and ponder to them for their votes.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad on its part has experienced the agony and the pain of second class citizenship status of the Hindus.

Way back in 1967 Kumbha Mela , the VHP brought all the Shankaracharyas. Mahamandaleshwars and Dharmacharyas numbering over 6000 top Hindu religious leaders of the country under one canopy and, in the presence of about 25 lakh Kumbh pligrims at prayag, all the thousands of religious Hindu leaders with one voice formally

banished untouchability from the Hindu society. Despite this massive effort instances of certain sub-human Hindus practising untouchability keep surfacing now & then in different parts of the country. Cleansing the society of this evil will take some time. But that this evil will be wiped out, of that there is no doubt.

Classic example of ""samrasata""and model; like absense of caste consciousness can always be witnessed in the congregations of lakhs of Kar Sewaks that assemble in VHP camps, or in the RSS camps, when tens of thousands of Swayam Sewaks congregate for special zonal camps of the RSS.It is the dream of all RSS and VHP leaders that, that very kind of castelessness and ""Samrasata""develops through-out the length and breadth of the country.

In the Magh Mela of January 1992 at Prayag, Shri Ashok Singhal of the VHP took the initiative of convening a conclave of over 1200 of the most highly respected Vedic Scholars from all over the country. During the week-long programme of Yagnas Shri Ashok Singhal impressed upon them with all his persuasive powers, that the dogmatic attitude among Vedic Scholars. ""That vedas can be taught only to Brahmins"" will have to be given up completely at the earliest. It was thus, that before they dispersed,they had unanimously resolved to teach the Vedas to all sections of Hindu society including womenfolk. As a result in the last 10 years, tens of thousands of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes Acharyas are today manning temples in the country, and imparting vedic knowledge to the people who congregate at their temples.

In yet another scheme of ""single person teacher school"",well educated & dedicated Swayam Sewaks are living a life of Sannyasis in the deep interiors of forests and mountains and are imparting primary education and knowledge of the cultural heritage of the Hindus to thousands of children of the scheduled castes and schduled tribes in over 15000 such ""single person teacher Schools.

Truly herculean efforts are being made to eradicate the evils that have crept into the Hindu society but the country being as vast as it is,and the maladies being no less deeprooted, it is obvious that these efforts cannot yield results overnight. For a people who have suffered slavery for centuries their redemption will take its own natural time. Nevertheless it can be said with confidence that the Hindus are destined to redeem their social levels and it is only a matter of time before mutual respect, love compassion and "Samrasta" shall begin to flow in the blood stream of the Hindu community not only in the country but among all the Hindus of the World .

As of today, however, with two major world religions, Islam and Christianity having openly vowed to spread their religions all across the globe with renewed aggressiveness, the Hindu community is in great danger and there is therefore, no alternative to their coming to gether and developing true brotherhood among themselves. **Only total unity among the Hindus will provide the required power and resilience to withstand all the challenges that the Hindus are facing today.**

Let no one forget for a moment that whatever religious tolerance that is being witnessed in this country,it is purely because the majority of population in the country is yet of Hindus. Wherever the Hindus were or are being reduced to a minority, religious tolerance is tending to become a casualty. Remember what happened to Kashmiri Pandits in Kashmir. There are regions in the North-East where signs of such intolerance are surfacing. Mr Antony in Kerala may have to pay a political price for his honest assessment of certain pockets in Kerala.It is therefore, adding insult to injury when those, who have been merrily pracaticing rank pro-minoritysm in collusion with the so called secularists, pontificate the loudest in telling the Sangh parivar to show greater tolerance and greater faith in secularism.

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ENLIGHTENED SECULAR POLITICS AND HINDUSTANI UNITY

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INTRODUCTION

Secular politics in India is to be understood in two dimensions: the practice of secularism in political decision-making and the political parameters of the concept of secularism. That is, first, political choices should not be determined by the religion of a citizen of India but by enlightened national interests, and second,that secularism cannot be defined to undermine the notional cohesion and unity of the nation. Within this framework, secularism has to be defined that is appropriate for fostering the ***unity of the nation, absence of discrimination*** and according to the ***norms of democratic politics*** consistent with that goal.

1. Definitions of Secularism

There are great many people living in India of different religious faiths and hence we need an enlightened concept of how people can bond together and mutually accommodate their religious aspirations based on truth and without conflict. This is really what secularism should mean for all Indians.This bonding question however has not been a part of the secularism as preached so far to the Indian People. Hence there is a great deal of confusion in the country. ***Jawaharlal Nehru is primarily responsible for this confusion.*** Nehru, and so his daughter Indira, [during their tenures of 33 years total as Prime Ministers] who divided the people by their narrow westernized concept of secularism that did not visualize how the people could bond with each other on the principle of mutual accommodation. Secularism as visualized by Nehru and Indira Gandhi can never work being a one-way obligation.

In Europe secularism means merely that the State is to be separate from and independent of the religious institutional authority i.e. the Church. Secularism meant the separation of the temporal power, which was considered materialistic,from the dictator of the spiritual authority,which was held to be idealistic. ***But the concept of secularism for Indians has to be different because in a Hindu-dominated country, there is no "Church" or a single Hindu religious authority, and thus secularism in the European sense is irrelevant.***

Another angle in which secularism has also been used in India is the Left orientation: that of the state as anti-religious.Some years ago,Marxist MPs objected to the Prime Minister inaugurating a public sector project by lighting lamps(that are in wide use in Hindu temples)and by breaking coconut,which is a Hindu practice.They protested that these are religious symbols and a Prime Minister of a secular state should not follow that practice.This concept of ***Aggressive Left Secularism*** too, we have to reject, because it is consistent only with an authoritarian Marxist state in which religion would be considered a subversive force.India is not a Marxist state.Besides this is completely unworkable in India where all communities are religious in outlook.

The religious fundamentalists in India advocate a concept of reactionary secularism. These fundamentalists do not want the State to regulate or interfere in to anything religious including obscurantist beliefs.Each fundamentalist religious group therefore want their own code for regulating society.Only Hindus in India have by and large accepted a secular national code to override their past unacceptable religious practices.

Today Muslims and Christians have, in personal matter their own codes.But the fundamentalist are preachers of a double standard. For example, ***Muslims clergy in India justify the discriminatory treatment meted out to the Hindus in Islamic countries, but want in the name of secularism all kinds of safeguards and guarantees for Muslims in India . In Saudi Arabia, if any migrant Hindu worker is caught praying to any idol, or even celebrating***

Diwali,he is promptly arrested and cruelly sentenced.This, Muslim fundamentalists in India justify on the ground that Saudi Arabia is an Islamic State. But the smallest curb on them in India even in the name of secularism (e.g. the Supreme Court judgement in the celebrated Shah Bano case) bring the most violent protest from these fundamentalists The mullahs of Islam religion also cannot demand that personal laws of marriage and inheritance follow the Shariat,but not punishment for panel offence of robbery for Muslims in India, such as cutting of a robber"s hand at the wrist. If the Shariat is not to be implimented as a whole in India, for example in the Penal Code, then where and what is to be truncated of the Shariat in constitutional, and civil codes? That has to be decided by Parliament on the equality before law in a democracy, not by the fundamentalists such double stand ards practised by Muslims have discredited the concept of secularism itself in the eyes of the Hindus. ***And thus the need today to debate secularism.***

Although religion is the private concern of individuals nevertheless the State should not enact laws or pursue policies in order to please religious orthodoxy and obscurantism. Instead I favour that the State create an atmosphere in which the people"s resilience and their power to adjust themselves to change, is strengthened. The State should enact laws which integrate society and promote a positive national outlook. Infact, the state should not be averse to legislating laws that conflict with religious orthodoxy. For example, we can never agree that a woman witness is not equal to man witness. (Islamic law requires two women witness to counter a man"s evidence!)

The spirit of secularism is good,and is consistent with our Hindu ethos.India"s experience with theocracy in history was only during the Buddhist and Mughal periods.Generally, Hindu kings practiced the principle of secularism, different from the Aggressive Left and Reactionary varieties.The State was pro-religion without being discriminatory.

At the present juncture of our history,the secularism conceptually needs therefore to be redefined in the light of the experience of the last nearly six decades of Independence.

Secularism thus cannot be used as a device to dissociate ourselves from the past, both good and bad.We must learn to cherish that which is glorious in our past, and learn from that which was shameful. Such a secularism is based on a commitment to the brotherhood of religious communities, on their respect for and pursuit of truth.

A New Concept:Enlightened Secularism

What the nation thus needs today is a concept of enlightened secularism which means:(a) State neutrality toward all religions in all its main functions of maintaining public order; (b) equality of all religions before law, and uniform civil and criminal laws for all religious groups to adhere; (c) that while the majority has a special responsibility to foster harmony with other religious groups (if necessary by contract as with the parsi community), there is necessarily implied mutual obligation for which minorities must stand up for majority concerns as well. ***Secularism thus cannot entail a one-way commitment.***This is especially essential because all Indians today are either Hindus (83 percent plus of the population) or descendants of Hindus. This is the meaning of India as Hindustan.Hence minorities in India have a special obligation to acknowledge,honour, and cherish their Hindu past to expect a Secular state in India.

Hence, ***secularism consistent with our ethos is manifested in five commitment for all religious groups in the nation that together comprise the Hindustani identity.***

(i) Uniform Legal Code both civil and criminal

(ii) Ban on religious conversions of Hindus to other religions.

(iii) The process of Sanskritization for Akhand Hindustan.

(iv) The concept of a Hindustani mindset.

(v) National interests placed above religious affinity in foreign policy, terrorism and national security.

In detail, these five essential commitments mean the following:

(i) UNIFORM LEGAL CODE

That the Indian Goverment should adopt a uniform legal code is a mandate given to the "State" by Art,44 under Directive Principle of the Constitution. ***Article 44 of the Constitution states: ""The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India.*** ""But even after six decades since the Constitution came in to force it has not been adopted.

Unfortunately, in India legal questions are politicized when it affects the ""Minority vote bank"".

A controversy has however arisen so as to the formation of a uniform code relating to the family or personal law of the parties relating to matters such as marriage and divorce, succession adoption.

The matter is however not complicated. As far as criminal code is concerned, it has already been coded in the Indian penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code, and is applicable to all religious groups equally.In the civil code, a controversy has arisen regarding the adoption of a uniform code relating to the family or "personal law"of the parties relating to matters such as marriage and divorce, succession,adoption.

The framers of the Constitution clearly indicated what they meant by the words "personal law" in Entry 5 of List III of the 7th Schedule of the same Constitution.The framers of the Constitution had in the Constituent Assembly made clear that in a secular State, personal laws relating to such matters as marrige, succession and inheritance could not depend upon religion, but must rest on a uniform Civil Code necessary for achieving the unity and solidarity of the nation. [K.M.Munshi,VII C,A.D.,547-48]. C.A.D=Constituent Assembly Debate.

Every time subsequently the question of uniform Civil Code was raised by anyone in Parliament, the Goverment of India opposed it on the ground that to achieve it would be to hurt Muslim" sentiments" and that no implementation of this Directive of the fundamental law could be made so long as the Muslims themselves would not come forward to ask for it. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has recommended, more than once, to take early steps towards the formation of a uniform Civil Code [Mudgal v.Union of India (1995)3 S.C.C.635].

Entry 5 says:

""5. Marriage and divorce:infants and minors; adoption;wills; intestacy and succession ;joint family and partition; all matters in respect of which parties in judicial proceedings were immediately before the commencement of this Constitution subject to their personal law.""

The Shariat is neither infallible nor immutable even in Muslim majority nations as evidenced by the patent fact that it has been modified in many respects by various Muslim States through the process of liberal or progressive interpretation of the Islamic scriptures.

The ***ground of immutability of the Shariat was in fact raised by some Muslim members in the Constituent Assembly of India but was rejected on opposition from Dr.Ambedkar.*** It would be an eye opener to many today to recount what Ambedkar said [VIIC.A.D.55] in this context.

""...up to 1935 the North-West Frontier Province was not subject to Shariat Law; it followed the Hindu Law in the matter of succession and in other matters,so much so that it was in 1939 that the Central Legislature had to come into the field and to abrogate the application of the Hindu Law to Muslims of North-West Frontier Province and to apply Shariat Law to them...apart from North-West Frontier Province, up till 1937 in the rest of India, in various parts,such as the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Bombay, the Muslims to a large extent were governed by

the Hindu Law in the matter of succession...that in North-Malabar the Marumakkathayam law applied to all-not only to Hindus but also to Muslims.""[op.cit].

Even in India,the Quranic laws of crimes and evidence have already been supplanted by enacting the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and the Evidence Act, e.g., by saving the Muslims from the following medieval atrocities which are still prevalent in Muslim countries:

(a) Chopping off the hands of a criminal as a punishment for theft,or stoning to death as punishment for adultery.

(b) Adultery and apostasy being punishable by death.

(c) where the witnesses are women,their value as against the evidence of men is the ratio of 2:1, i.e., two women are needed to contradict the testimony of one man in Shariat Court.

The Indian laws of crimes and evidence make no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims.Also the Judges in a Criminal case involving Muslims dispute need not be Muslims.

Muslims who have chosen to remain in India after the 25% of India was Partitioned off to enable Muslims to live without Hindu domination, did so with the full knowledge that divided India was going to adopt a Parliamentary system of democracy and not any Muslim system of the Middle Ages where Shariat would be the supreme law of the land for them.They should also have known that a personal law founded on the religion of different communities was incompatible with the very concept of a "Secular"State which divided India was going to be.

It is wrong to assume however that the entire Muslim community in India today is opposed to the implementation of Art, 44. The Shah Bano case demonstrated that it was only a section of the Sunni sect amongst the Muslims which was vehemently opposed to the judgment. ***Nearly 90% of Muslim women in India reject the orthodoxy of the Shariat.***

The Government hence, as the Supreme Court has held, can no more wash its hands off Art. 44 on the ground that it is a Directive Principle which is not enforceable [Jordan v.Chopra (1985) 3 S.C.C. 62] Besides, some Supreme Court Judges had expressed their views to the same effect out of Court as well:e.g., Gajendragadkar, C.J.,and Chairman,Law Commission, in his book-***Secularism and the Constitution of India (1971), p.126; Shelat, J., Secularism, Principles & Application (1972);*** Hegde, J., in the Law Institute, in January, 1972; Tulzapurkar, J.,--article in A.I.R.1987 Jours.17; Beg. C.J., in his Motilal Nehru Lecture on "Impact of Secularism on Life and Law".

The Shariat on personal law is not sacrosanct will appear from the following examples of Muslim majority countries which have superseded or modified polygamy.

Turkey : The Court can declare a second marriage as invalid on the ground that a spouse is living at the time of the second marriage [Turkish Civil Code,Art.74].

Pakistan : A person cannot contract second marriage without the permission of the Arbitration Council;and a wife can obtain divorce on the ground that the husband has married another wife.

Iran; A Person cannot remarry without permission of the Court. *Egypt, Jorden, Morocco, Syria;* Similar restrictions on bigamy as in Iran and Pakistan have been imoposed in Egypt,Jordan Morocco and Syria.

Tunisia ; Bigamy is totally prohibited by the Tunisia Law of personal Status(s.18).

Registration of all marriages, including those contracted in conformity with Shariat formalities, has been made compulsory in Iran, Algeria, Indonesia, Malaysia.

There is no reason therefore why such law cannot be adopted in Hindustan. With the adoption of a Uniform Civil Code consistent with modernity, the bonding of religious communities can commence.

(ii) Ban on Religious Conversion of Hindus

Reflect on the past trends in our history; In 1000 A.D., Muslims and Christians in undivided India were in negligible numbers .By 1400,they had become 3.5% of the sub-continent .In 1700 ,they rose to 11%,and by 1891 to 13% By the time of Partition, they were 23%,and today the Christian and Muslim populations are 36%.What will it be in 2050 or 2150?.Vast areas of India"s North-east are already Christian majority while districts of UP and Bihar are fast becoming Muslim majority. This is an extraordinary rise, which has continued even after freedom from British colonial rule. Defacto power in the hands of Hindus has not changed the attitude of the proselytizers, only their strategy has changed and become invisible for most Hindus. This demographic change has been effected by religious conversion, forced migration, and differential application of family planning .

Even the most secular Hindus should now worry about this, because secularism in India is itself under threat if the Hindus lose their majority share in population.That is why even Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar [no Hindu fundamentalists], during the Freedom Struggle had stoutly opposed religious conversions. In Mahatma"s interview given to The Hindu in 1931 [see Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi ,Vol XL V, p. 320] he stated:

""Every nation"s religion is as good as another .Certainly India"s religions are adequate for her people.We need no converting/spiritually.""

Gandhiji went on to add that if foreign missionaries in independent India sought to convert by inducement such as by medical aid and in providing education, then he would ask them to withdraw from the country. Lest his remarks be treated as a misquote or off the cuff, Gandhiji later authored an artical to reaffirm the same view in different language:

"India stands in no need of conversions from one faith to another **""Young India (April 23, 1931 issue).**

Will indeed Christians and Muslims of India acknowledge the seriousness of this matter, and dialogue with Hindus, much as in a *Shashtrarthas*, (भास्त्रार्थ) to come to an agreement and thus respect of the concept and sanctity of shashtrartas?

There is a serious problem here ***as an interesting study of Sarah Claerhout and Jakob De Roover titled:*** ""The Question of Conversion in India"" [Economic and Political Weekly, July 9, 2005] concludes: Hindus and Christians have fundamentally diffrent and mutually exclusive concepts of religion, and thus also in their approaches to the question of conversion. Hence,say the authors, for Hindus and Christians to dialogue on conversion would be fruitless because they will have ""great difficulties making sense of each other"s statements and arguments"".This is because Hindus do not consider any religion as wholly false. Since all religions lead to God, hence there is no need for forcing a conversion.Christians [and Muslims] think that their"s is the only true religion and God"s work for them to convert "heathens"and "kafirs"to their only true religion.

I have thus come to the conclusion after much study and observing what has been, and is happenning in India, that **there is a fundamental disconnect between the religious outlook of true Hindus and Christians and Muslims, which makes it impossible for a fruitful debate and mutual understanding on the question of conversion.**

Therefore, either Hindus will have to capitulate on this question by permitting unfettered religious conversion in India, or in the alternative be united and assertive to ensure that laws are enacted and effectively enforced against religious conversion of Hindus. There is no third way for retaining the overwhelming majority of Hindus in India. Without that Majority, there connot be a continuing civilization of India.

We have therefore to pay heed to Kenya"s Jamo Kenyatta"s warning: ""They (Christian missionaries) came with Bible in their hands to our land. We closed our eyes together to pray with them. When we opened our eyes, we had their Bible in our hands and they our lands"".

I am persuaded that it is urgent now that Hindus be mobilized to assertively oppose any further conversion from Hinduism to any other non-Indian religion. This is because even status quo is damaging to the Hindu faith, since the Christian missionaries and Muslim mullahs are already fully at work, funds being no constraint, to convert Hindus. Silence today is tantamount to acquiescing in this atrocity .

Parsis and Jews do not threaten the Hindu character of the nation. They do not seek to proselytize or convert Hindus by monetary inducements or by obscurantist preachings such as curing persons who convert of incurable terminal diseases. But on the other hand, the preachings of the religious leaders of Islam and Christianity in India, altogether for a thousand years, had targeted Hindus and sought the religious conversions to their faiths by creating deprivation and loss of self esteem, through the abuse of the power of the State againt Hindus. They were not subtle about it. ***For example,in 1545,King John III of portugal gave a command to the then Governor of Goa that neither in public nor private, "idols" of Hindus heathens be tolerated on the island of Goa and that severe punishment be meted out to those who persist in keeping them. Thereafter,a terrible inquisition followed during which Hindus were killed, brutalized and their temples razed to the ground.*** Still we must fot forget only a minority of Hindus converted to Christianity. No other religious community other than Hindus suffered such prolonged and atrocious persecution and yet survived as a religion of a vast majority on their own soil.Let us not forget this defiance in our past.

Today Hindus despite defacto in power and in the organs of the state, are victims of that same targeting, but of course in a very subtle and sophisticated manner. In furthering the objective of this targeting, Islam and Christianity, more so the latter, have been able to leverage the influence of prominent Hindus themselves, who wittingly for money or unwittingly because of a programmed mindset of being defensive about being a Hindu [thereby ready to ape the West], are tools of this targeting.

When independent India debated the draft Contitution in the Constituent Assembly, enormous pressure was brought to bear within the Assembly and out side, to make the freedom to convert a fundemental right. Within the Assembly, the leader of Anglo-Indians, Mr.Frank Anthony stated that the right to convert to Christian faith was the ""most fundamental of Christian right"" [Constitution Assembly Debates III ;. 489-90]. He and other Christian groups had wanted Article 25 to be so re-drafted as to make the right to carry on conversion activites as fundamental right. But with the exception of a few, others did not agree. Dr.Ambedkar despite his own stated views aginst conversion as a right, was prevailed upon by Nehru to draft a hotch-potch Article 25, which meant all things to all persons, which then was adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

However, soon after Independence, the pinch of induced conversion began to be felt, and some State governments, notably Madhya Pradesh and Orissa Vidhan Sabhas enacted laws banning induced conversions. In 1977, a ruling Janata Party M P Om Prakash Tyagi brought forth a Private Member"s Bill in the Lok Sabha to seek Parliamentary approval to get a law enacted to make induced conversions a national offence. Unfortunately, despite it having wide support, the Janata government did not last long enough to enact such a law banning induced conversions.

In 1977, the Supreme Court clarified in a landmark judgment that Article 25 however worded did not allow for the right to convert. ***Chief Justice A.N. Ray opined that ""if a person purposely undertakes the conversion of another to his religion that would impinge on the freedom of conscience guaranteed to all citizens of the country alike"".*** Despite this clear ruling, goverments that have come and gone have failed to translate the judgment into an explicit

law. ***Since then the political play of secularism has continued to dilute the resolve of goverment to stop induced conversions.***

Now the freedom to convert has become an international concern. V.K.Shashikumar in an article titled; ***""Bush"s Conversion Agenda for India"" and published in Tehelka in February 2004 states that a project,code named JOSHUA Projects I&II, was formulated by U S Evangelical gruops to map the 1,52,786 post offices in India and codified by PIN codes, and then identify who and how conversion may be planned .Based on this project ,a recent September 2005 conclave in Dallas,Texas targeted that 100 million (10 crores) converts from Hinduism should be achieved by 2020.*** Of course konwing the US scene as I do, there are other Christian groups in the US who are apprehensive that these Evangelical groups may end up giving Christianity a bad name, and having been using the web blogs to expose these groups. ***One such concerned group,the Trinity Foundation had exposed Benny Hinn who had earlier been received almost as a State Guest in Bangalore to hold his fraud congregation to demonstrate his miracle cures.*** But India bears the brunt of the likes of Benny Hinn and not Trinity Foundation.And when we speak of Christian missionaries we mean who,whose mission is to proselytize.And of course it is an international effort and we need to set our minds to have none of it.

Ms.Jayalalitha as Chief Minister brought into law a statute titled Tamil Nadu Prohibition of Forcible Conversion of Religion,but soon she had to be beat a hasty retreat when the US consul General based in Chennai met her and apprised that the said statute violated US law on religious freedom.This was a sad capitulation for Tamils in particular and Indians in general. Ms.Jayalalitha, claiming to be a staunch Hindu, was devoid of courage and had feet of clay. That is the mindset that we need to combat.

I must make clear here however that I do not oppose voluntary and unforced conversion to Hinduism of those presently of the Semitic religions, such as Christians and Muslims of India, because all Indians, except Parsi, and Jews and Syrian Christians, are either Hindus or those whose ancestors are Hindus. Their becoming Hindus is re-conversion and a return to the Hindu fold. For most Christians and Muslims in India, the conversion of their ancestores in the past was coerced, openly, crudely, savagely,or subtly, but it was not voluntary. One has to read what happened to Guru Tegh Bahadur to imagine what else must have happened in the country to make Hindus to convert. ***Today, every Muslim and Christian in India is a living example of that despicable violence against the Hindus***. We may try to understand what and why it had happened in the past, but we should not forget the lesson embedded in the brutally forced conversions that did take place.We should therefore all be thankful to Swami Dayanand Saraswati for his open letter to the Pope of Vatican,John Paul II,during latter"s visit to New Delhi to preach the Gospel. In that letter the Swamiji boldly stated:

""Religious conversion destroys centuries-old communities and incites communal violence.It is violence, and it breeds violence"" [www.hinunet.org/conversions/pope99/]

I am also not advocating that Hindus and other religionists must confront each other,and not interact or dialogue on any issue.Far from it, I advocate vibrant debate and discussion on most religious issues, but not on those issues which will erode or undermine the Hindu foundation of India. On the question of religious conversion, it should now be treated as a closed chapter. ***Hindu true to their legacy will not permit it. Either, true Hindus will prevail or Hindustan will be deformed, twisted and ultimately, like Greece and Egypt, transformed beyond recognition.***

India as the world has known and admired, would then be destroyed forever. Hence, instead Hindus must remain steadfast and carry the "war" to the camps of Christian missionaries and Muslim mullahs of India and make the Christians and Muslims see how they too can take pride in their great Hindu ancestry, and are welcome anytime of their choosing to return to the Hindu fold. ***A Russian scholar,Alexander Zinoviev, of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow,***

recently published an article in the Organiser, that was titled:""For India"s Survival Hinduism has to Prevail"".In it he states:

""".....during the Renaissance, Western European realized that they were successors of ancient Rome and Greece, and embraced their culture which for long centuries was being condemned by the Roman Catholic Church as ""pagan"" and ""non-christian"",[hence] one day the Muslims on the Indian sub-continent will understand that they are inhertors of a great civilisation completely different from that of Arabs and the Middle East.That is a problem of education and knowledge"".

Of course before we can motivate and persuade the Indian Christian and Muslims to accept that their ancestors are Hindus, and because of this fact they have the option of returning to Hinduism, we Hindus have to set our house in order. ***Over the centuries, Hindu religion has not undergone a renaissance.*** There have been valiant attempts, but these had been circumscribed by political compulsions of the time foisted on us by invasions and imperialism. Often these attempts at renaissance had to be aborted due to these compulsions. In1947 however we Hindus had an opportunity to usher a renaissance without compulsions, but the misfortune of a long tenure as Prime Minister of a self-confessed agnostic and the political culture imported from a God-less Communist Soviet Union thoroughly froze the distortions in Hindu religious practices.It is imperative therefore to create a new Hindu corporate awareness to confront these distortions frontally and remove them.Otherwise,the forces ranged against Hinduism today will succeed in their nefarious designs.

I am particularly concerned with the effect the ***varna vyavastha*** [caste system] is having in promoting religious conversions. It gives a talking point to the enemies of Hinduism. ***It is not that other religions do not have a stratification based on origin of the individual.Dalit converts to Christianity for example learn the hard way about their low status in their new religion,and hence are asking for reservation in jobs and education even after conversion!Of course, we should never agree to that because reservation is strictly a correction for the malfunction of the Hindu society in the past,*** and in fact reservations should have been confined to schedule castes and tribes only who have remained Hindus despite all the atrocities heaped on them for centuries. ***Christians and Muslims have been ruling classes in India for a thousand years and hence certainly not deprived or discriminated in any way. In that sense, scheduled castes are more steadfast Hindus than those of other*** castes, for having remained Hindus despite being deprived, humiliated and discriminated.

Moreover, ***Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the twentieth century intellectual who should be most admired by Hindu society for his profound perception of India"s history which perception he has fortunately for all of us,recorded in books and articles.Not only did he write like a Hindu patriot, but he can be regarded as a joint architect, with Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel, of the geographical India of today.*** Had Dr.Ambedkar accepted the 1932 British imperialist offer for a separate electorate for scheduled castes, and Gandhiji had not staked his life on the line against it,India would have been completely balkanized before the British left in 1947.That was the imperialist plot and Dr.Ambedkar had refused to oblige.It is a great tragedy for India that Nehru"s personal jealousies led to his sidelining in politics after Independence and ultimately had frustrated him.It is however not too late to venerate him even now by a campaign to demolish what is left of the caste system.

We owe it to ***Dr.M.V.Nadkarni for a brilliant study titled: ""Is Caste System Intrinsic to Hinduism?"" [Economic and Political Weekly, November 8, 2003] wherein he has proved beyond anyone reasonable doubt that ""it is necessary to demolish the myth that caste system is an intrinsic part of Hinduism"".*** Dr.Nadkarni further argues very convincingly that"" the caste system emerged and survived due to totally different factors, which had nothing to do with Hindu religion"". He concluded his study with a highly perceptive remark that the caste system"" has

collapsed today because all its functions have collapsed. It has lost whatever relevance, role, utility, and justification it may have had"".

The caste system was never meant to create a Brahmin hegemony or birth based. Brahmins were those venerated because they led a simple life and were devoted to ecucation and religious theology.But to become a *rshi* it was not necessary to be born of Brahmin parents.***Valmiki,Veda Vyasa, Vishwamitra, and Kalidasa were not born in Brahmin families. Nor were Brahmins above the law.*** Ravana, a scholar of repute had to pay a heavy price for his abduction of Shri Rama"s wife. Caste identification instead was by GUNAS (गुण) [virtues], as Bhagwan shri Krishna told Arjuna according to the Uttara Gita.

Nor the recent researches on DNA of Indians show any racial differences amongst castes.So why tolerate a system which at the very least is obsolete and a stumbling block in the way of total Hindu unity?I urge all the dharma gurus and acharya,to please find a way to campaign for the abolition of the caste system so that we may achieve a renaissance in Hinduism.

At this juncture in our history, nearly sixty years after securing freedom from successive oppressive regimes spread over a thousand years, empowered by a pluralistic democracy and on the verge of a major economic upsurge, ***Hindus are again finding themselves agonizing as to what the future holds for them as a religious community.*** Because of agreater readiness amongst Hindus to accept family planning and because effete governments over the years have failed to prevent illegal immigration of minorities from our neighbourhood, Hindus are in ratio of total population declining in numbers. More importantly, there are states of the Indian Union where Muslims and Christians are in majority, and Hindus are being denied their due in those states. In Kashmir, thousands and thousands of Hindus have been driven ***out in the despicably blatant ethnic cleansing.At this rate Hindus could become a minority within a hundred years. In Tripura, Hindu activists are being murdered every day by Christian terrorists.In the south,a Shankaracharya Mutt has been defiled by the state government filing false and bogus murder cases against venerated Holiness.*** The acharya was not permitted by a government official to perform his traditional pujas at the Rameshwaram temple because the acharya had this bogus case pending against him! Even the carrying of the DAND (दण्ड) by the junior Shankaracharya of Dwarka was opposed by the government run Indian Airlines, and the sant had to disembark from the plane he was sitting in.And all this is happening while Hindus are in power in government.

(iii)The Process of Sanskritization for Akhand Hindustan

If we are to reject the Martin Luther,Marxist, Nehruvian and reactionary versions of secularism, then it is imperative to show how a new concept of enlightened secularism has appeal for the Indian masses.

To do that we have to recognize the process that the doyen of sociologists, Dr.M.N. Srinivas, had termed as Sanskritisation. This term is basically not derived from the ancient language. Sanskrit, but instead it comes from the word Sanskriti, which means culture.Of course, Sanskrit is the Vehicle of our culture and must be learnt for learned discourses. Dr.Srinivas had told me years ago that the Indian masses first eat, then digest, and finally assimilate elite behaviour.He had decades of published research to prove this. The final co-option of the upward mobile sections of the masses for assimilation as elites, happens with religious sanction.This is the process and cultivation of Sanskritization.To see this in reality, one has to study how the Nadars in Tamil Nadu,Ezhavas in Kerala, and Jats in Uttar Pradesh became elites in society.The Thevars may be the next caste to be so assimilated. ***The great Ramanuja had even well-educated Scheduled Castes into the socially prestigious priestly class.***

It is my view that the real reason secularism as propounded by Nehru and the Marxists has floundered is that it became an obstacle to this process of Sanskritisation.That is, secularism as defined by Nehru in fact froze the Hindu social order by either nonchalance to religion or by its

implied negative rebuke.It lacked the positive content of providing a process for assimilation of the lower castes into the elite.

It is interesting to observe that the Hindutva propounded by the RSS has attracted more of the lower and deprived castes than the so-called upper castes. In Uttar Pradesh, the Yadavas, Kurmis,and Lodhs were the most ethusiastic adherents of Hindutva since it enable Sanskritisation through political empowerment. ***The Babri Masjid was demolished by mobs of the backward castes and not Brahmins.*** Uma Bharati or Sadhvi Ritambhara are from these castes.

Hence, today Yadava leaders like Mulayam Singh,Kurmi leaders like Nitish Kumar and Lodhi leaders like Kalyan Singh are feeling the heat of Hindutva and the pressure to conform. ***The RSS is said to be Brahmin-dominated at the leadership level, but its front organizations, such as the Bajarang Dal are mostly of the Hindu ""proletariat",i.e.,backward and scheduled castes.***

Patriotic forces now ought to and should redefine secularism to include the process of Sanskritisation.

For this, Sanskritisation should be promoted by a call declaring the caste system as irrelevant to Hinduism today.Not that such a call alone will abolish the caste system,but it will begin the ferment for it .There is sufficient theological basis for such a call. As noted earlier Dr.M.V.Nadkarni has made out a convincing case that birth-based caste system is actually against the tenets of Hindu religion.Incidentally, Dr.Ambedkar,himself a scholar of Hindu religion and history, has all along held his view in his numerous and now buried writings. ***Dalit writers of today have totally distorted his concepts, and hence contributed to the obscuring of his writings.***

Only an approach of incorporating Sanskritisation in a concept of secularism can insulate the Indian mind from conversion and halt missionary activities. ***Indian culture needs modernization,but not westernisation.*** In other words, we have to set the glorious tenate of Hindu religion to curb religious fanaticism of other in India, such as Vivekananda, Subramania Bharati and Gandhiji had tried to do. ***Their task is incomplete and in fact interrupted by the Nehru interlude. It needs to be boldly rectified today. For this, we need another dimension of Sanskritization, which is the increasing adoption of Sanskrit words in all our Indian languages except Urdu which if becomes Sanskritized will cease to exist since it will merge into Hindi.***

Jawaharlal Nehru"s heart was not in Hindi replacing English. He himself spoke a pedestrian version of Hindi, mostly urdu. Nehru had digs at Hindi whenever he was afforded a chance. In Nehru"s coterie it was fashionable to deride Hindi literature as being limited to two works: Tulsidas "Ramayana and the Railway Time Table! ***Since Nehru understood no Sanskrit at all, he rebuked the Sanskritization of the Hindi vocabulary and the Davanagari script.***

Under Nehru"s sabotage Hindi became not only discredited in the eyes of the south but an imagined symbol of imposition of the North on the South. Naturally the South revolted .Southerners also feared losing jobs due to the natural disadvantage of not knowing Hindi from childhood, in competition with those whose mother-tongue was Hindi. Thus, the nation had to witness the language riots of 1965 that threatened national unity. ***The leadership at the centre which had by then passed into Lal Bahadur Shastri"s hands,had naturally to yield,to keep national unity, but with that the prospect of Hindi suffered a tremendous reverse.***

Hindi, however, is still practically speaking the best link language today. But it is not the best language as an educational medium and for learned discourse. In that sense it can never be accepted as the national language.In the years to come,it is Sanskrit that will be the most sensible national language for us.

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Sir William Jones compared Sanskrit with the classical languages of Europe and declared in 1786, ***""The language of Sanskrit, whatever be its antiquity, is of the wonderful structure;more perfect than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either...."*** C.Rajagopalachari is reported to have remarked that Sanskrit was a ""symbol of our seniority among people of the world "".Among the languages that started developing a literature in the pre-Christian era, Sanskrit is the only one that continues as a living language.The language of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Carthage are only historical names in history now.

The Hindu foundation of modern India is why India has been and is even today referred to, in India and abroad, as Hindustan. Hindustan is defined as a nation of Hindus and those who accept that their ancestors are Hindus.The concept also includes refugee minorities who accept the core values of the Hindu culture and therefore recognized as a part of the Hindustan nation. Thus when the Dwarka Mutt Shankaracharya gave the arriving Parsi refugees in Sanjaan [Kutch coast] a five point requirement for settling in the country,they readily accepted and have not deviated from it even today. These five points were; Giving up persian; language and adopting Gujarati; wearing Indian clothes instead of persian; treating the cow as sacred; reciting some select Sanskrit slokas in their marriage ceremony; and laying down of weapons. Despite; being the smallest minority, with disproportionate share in offices of power and national wealth, and perhaps also the wealthiest community, ***there is and has been no tension or conflict between Hindus and Parsis.***

On the other hand reactionary secularism has been used as a cover for the Muslim Fundamentalists, to snap the organic ties of present day Muslim with their Hindu ancestry, thereby contributing to the future polarization of the two communities. But it is this that distinguishes the Hindu attitude to Muslims from that with the parsis.

If Muslims and Christians truthfully accept their ancestors were Hindus then certain problems that have recently caused great tension between Hindus and Muslims and Christians can be quickly resolved.The Ram Janmabhoomi controversy would for example never have erupted. That Hindus have patiently put up with, for centuries, what a lieutenant of Babar did to that holy spot does not mean that they do not have any depth of feelings about it. The evidence that Mir Baqi destroyed an existing temple to build the Babri Masjid is there with the Archceological Survey of India since 1976 and reaffirmed in 2003 by a Commission set up on the direction of the Allahabad High Court.In fact, between 1193 when Md.Ghori ransacked Ajmer, to Quli Khan when he had temples razed to the ground in Tripura,about 80 major temples had been destroyed, and thousands of smaller temples. In fact there is a great stirring of Hindu consciousness today because of the utter disregard of Muslim fundamentalists for that feeling.

(iv) A CONCEPT OF A HINDUSTANI MINDSET

Since Independence from colonial rule in 1947, we Indians have been unsuccessfully grappling with the following question: Who We Are? This as--yet----unanswered question represents India"s indentity crisis. The failure to date to resolve this crisis, has not only confused the majority but confounded the minorities as well in India.Without a resolution of this crisis, which requires an explicit clear answer to the question, the majority will never understand how to relate to the legacy of the nation and in turn to the minorities.Minorities would understand how to adjust with the majority only if this identity crisis is resolved. In other words, the present dysfunctional perceptional mismatch, between who we are as a people and the legacy of the nation is behind most of the communal tension and inter community distrust in the country. Even in other countries such a question arises from time to time. In the United States, following relatively liberal immigration policies since 1965 the question has again arisen. Prof.Samuel Huntington of Harvard has tried to answer this question in his new book: Who ***We Are? He concludes that despite all the multi-cultural nature of American Society, the American identity is the White Protestant Christian.***

What is India, and why we are Indians? Is India an ancient nation, a continuing civilization of thousands of years, or a relatively recent administrative construct of British imperialists and legalized by the British House of Common legislation, viz., The Indian Independence Act of 1947? What is the core of India"s ethos: Hindu, Secular or Hindustani? And what does each mean? Citizens of modern India are of course not sure! That is today"s identity crisis.

Unless we answer this question clearly, finally, unambiguously, and authoritatively as to who we are, Indians will flounder, flip-flop, and generally be devoid of healthy patriotism. This is not to suggest that any person"s identity is uni- dimensional. The nature of a person"s questioning mind in a pluralistic democracy makes identity a multi-dimentional concept. But a national identity dimension is an imperative for nation to become vibrant and dynamic.What we are concerned here is the lack of a national identity, ***not how to make such an identity the sole concern.*** When the nation is in danger, national identity must take precedence. That is what Acharya Chanakya meant by the concept ""Chakravartin". Indian identity is in the end when all is said and done, is the mindset.

The core fundamentals of our national identity, through a correct perception of our history, will help to restucture and reform our society on that basis and make it cohesive and united. To achieve such a restructure, of course, requires a complete de-falsification of Indian history, rejecting that portion that has been deliberately contrived by British imperialists and their Indian compradors, to snap the linkages to our real past.

The present history taught in our schools and colleges is still the British-imerialist sponsored one, in which India as a State is treated as of recent origin and British -created. The Indian people are portrayed as a heterogeneous lot who are hopelessly divided against themselves. Both caste and language differences are given ethnic interpretation.

Such a "***"history""had without doubt been British policy.Sir George Hamilton,Secretary of State for India wrote on March 26,1888 that ""I think the real danger to our rule is not now but say 50 years hence..... We shall (therefore)break Indians into two sections holding widely different views..... We should so plan the educational text books that the differences between community and community are further strengthened"".*** Dr. B.R. Ambedkar challenged this view as far back as 1916, when, as a doctoral student of economics at Columbia University,he wrote a paper for an Anthropology Department seminar as follows: ***""Ethnically, all people are heterogeneous. It is the unity of culture that is the basis of homogeneity, Taking this for granted, I venture to say that there is no country that can rival the Indian Peninsula with respect to unity.*** It has not only geographic unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and much more fundamental unity -the indubitable cultural unity that cover the land from end to end [Published in Indian Antiquary,Vol. XLI, May 1917, p. 94]

After achieving independence, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and the implementing authority of the ICS, de-falsification of our history was however never done, in fact the very idea was condemned as ""obscurantist"" and Hindu chauvinist. For a brief period, when Murli Manohar Joshi was in charge of Education portfolio at the Centre (1998 -2004) an attempt was made to de-fasify history. The effort became tainted as "saffronisation". Joshi had got it right conceptually,but he got poor support from his colleagues in government for implementing it. It was not given priority.

What is the gist of this British imperialist-tailored Indian history? In this history,India is portrayed as the land conquered first by the Dravidians, then by the Aryans, later by Muslims,and finally by the British. Our history books today portray this obsession with foreign rule. For example, ***even though the Mughal rule from Akbar to Aurangzeb is about 150 years,much shorter than the 350 year rule of the Vijayanagaram empire, the history books of today hardly take notice of the latter.*** In fact the territory under Krishna ***Davaraya"s rule was much larger then Akbar"s, and yet it is the latter who is called ""the Great"". Such a version suited the***

British rules who had sought thereby to create a legitimacy for their presence in India.Furthermore,we were also made to see advantages accruing from British rule, the primary one being that India was created by this colonialism, that but for the British, India would never have been a country, that we were freed from superstition, obscurantism by the colonizers and given a "modern" education to boot.

These totally false and pernicious ideas have permeated deep in to our educational system. They have poisoned the minds of our younger generations who have not had the benefit of the freedom struggle to awaken their pride and nationalism. It has thus to be an essential part of the renaissance agenda that the two ideas of British-soponsored history of India are discarded, namely:(1) that India as a State was a gift of the British and (2)that there is no such thing as a native Indian, and what we are today is a by-product of the rape of the land by visiting conquerors and their hordes.

Just because India did not have a nation state of the present boundaries, exercising control through a unified modern administration, does not mean that there was no India. ***On the contrary,there was always an India, which from north to south thought fundamentally as one country.Just as Hinduism exists from ancient days despite a lack of a Church, Book, or Pope, Hindustan too existed from time immemorial but without the paraphenalia of a modern state.***

The British on the contrary tried to disrupt that unity by destroying the traditional communication channels and structures,and demeaning India"s heritage by falsification and disinformation.

Thus, we need a new factual account of our history, focusing on the continuous and unbroken endeavours of a people united as a nation. This history of India must deal with the conscious effort of our people to achieve a civilization, to reach better standards of life, and live a happier and nobler life.Although the lamp of faith of the Indian people burnt brightly over a long period in our history, we must also record when that faith dimmed in our history and brought shame to the people. Such a factual account of our past is essential to the Agenda, because we have to disgorge and discard the foreign versions of our history with credibility.

It is this foreign version that makes us out to be foreigners in our own land. The Aryan-Dravidan divide in the history taught in schools and universities is purely a conception of foregin historians like Max Mueller and has no basis in Indian historical records. This fraudulent history has been lapped up by many upper caste Indians,as their racial passport to Europe.Such has been the demoralization of the Hindu mind, which we have to shake off through a new factual account of our past.

The theory of the Aryan invasion, which is still taken by some as the foundation stone of the history of India, was actually devised in the 18th and 19th centuries by British linguists and archaeologists. According to this inhabitants of India were good-natured,peaceful, dark-skinned shepherds, called the Dravidians, who had founded what is called the Harappan, or Valley of the Indus civilization. They were supposedly remarkable builders-witness the city of Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistani Sind,but had no culture to speak of, no literature, no proper script even.Around 1500 B.C., India is said to have been invaded by tribes called the Aryans: white-skinned, nomadic people,who originated somewhere in Western Russia and imposed upon the Dravidians the hateful caste system.To the Aryans are attributed Sanskrit and the Vedic or Hindu, religious spritual texts, the Vedas, as well as a host of subsequent writings, the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, etc.

By this "Aryan" theory,, the British showed on the one hand that Indian civilization was not that ancient and that it was posterior to the cultures which influenced the Western world-Mesopotamia, Sumeria, or Babylone- and that whatever good things India had developed-Sanskrit literature, or even its architecture-had been borrowed or influenced by the West. ***Thus, Sanskrit, instead of being the mother of all Indo-European languages, became just a branch of***

their huge family. The religion of Zarathustra is said to have influenced Hinduism, and not vice versa. And on the other hand, it devided India and pitted against each other the "low caste dark-skinned Dravidians" and the "high caste light-skinned Aryans",a rift which is still enduring.

But today ,this theory is being challenged by two new discoveries, one archaeological and the other linguistic. Firstly, in the Rig Veda,the GANGA, India"s sacred river, is only mentioned once, but the mythic Saraswati is praised fifty times. For a long time, the Saraswati river was indeed considered a myth, until the American satellite Landstat was able to photograph and map the bed of this magnificent river, and took its source in the Himalayas. Archaeological Paul-Henri Francfort, who studied the Saraswati region at the beginning of the Nineties, found out that the Saraswati had "disappeared", because around 2200 B.C., an immense drought reduced the whole region to aridity and famine. "Thus", he writes, "most inhabitants moved away from the Saraswati to settle on the banks of the Indus (SINDU) and Sutlej rivers". According to "official "history, the Vedas were composed around 1500 B.C., some even say 1200 B C. Yet, the Rig Veda describes India as it was before the great drought which dried up the Saraswati, which means in effect that the so called Indus (SINDU) or Harappam civilization,was a continuation of the Vedic epoch, which ended approximately when the Saraswati dried up.

There is however no such word as "Aryan"in Sanskrit literature [closest is "arya" meaning honourable person, and not community] or Dravidian ***[Adi Shankara, a Brahmin monk from Kerala, in his shasthrarth with Mandana Mishra at Varanasi, had called himself as a "Dravida shishu" that is a child of an area where three oceans meet, i.e., south India]. The north-south racial divide theory was thus deliberate distortion by British imperialists and propagated by their witting and unwitting mentally enslaved Indian scholars,*** Incidentally, the Aryan-Dravidian myth has now been exploded by ***modern research on D N A of Indians and Europeans conducted by the Professor C.Panse of Newton.Mass.USA and other scholars.*** In light of such new research, the British Broadcasting Corporation ***[BBC] service in it"s October 6,2005 service completely debunked the Aryan-Dravidian race theory stating that: "Theory was not just wrong, it included unacceptably racist ideas"*** [www.bbc.co.uk, religion &ethics homepage, Thursday, 06.10.05.

Sri Aurobindo wrote seven decades ago that "Indian scholars have not been able to form themselves into a great and independent school of learning due to two causes; the miserable scantiness of the mastery in Sanskrit provided by our universities, crippling to all but born scholars, and our lack of sturdy independence which makes us over-ready to defer to European [and Western] authority. How true it is even today!

Thus the history of no free country can be structured on foreign accounts of it. ***The time has come for us to take seriously our Puranic sources and to imbibe a de-falsified and well-founded history of ancient India,a history written by Indians about Indians.*** Such a history would bring out the amazing continuity of a nation, which nation asserted its identity again and again at times of war and political crises. It should focus of the fact that at the centre of our perception of Indian nation is the concept of the ***Chakravartin ideal***-to defend the nation from external agression while giving maximum internal one in the art of governance, in the style of royal courts, in the methods of warfare, in the maintenance of its agrarian base, and in the dissemination of information. Otherwise it was decentralized for autonomy of villages in self-administration . The Panchayat system is a manifestation of that.

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The challenge for the coming century-for India to revive itself as a nation and a culture-is to recreate the Indic model of education in the modern context, in which the dichotomy between science and religion is resolved. We must move beyond not only dogmatic and exclusive religions on one hand, but also materialistic science on the other. ***We must recreate religion as a form of science and science as a form of spirituality.***

On a practical level this means that the ***spritual heritage of India-the Vedas, Upanishads, Yoga and Vedanta and Buddhism- must be taught in the schools as an integral part not only on Indian culture but of the global heritage of spiritual sciences. Sanskrit, the language that is the vehicle for most of these great teachings therefore must also be given emphasis and for compulsory learning.***

This requires a new intelligentsia in India that takes pride in ancient Hindu concepts and ceases to blindly imitate Western models of thinking in the war of modern. It also requires that the religious institutions, temples and ashrams offer classes on Vedic science, Hindu culture and their modern adaptation. ***Indian identity has to be rooted in Hinduism. This is possibles only if every Indian understands the foundation of Hindu philisophy.***

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What exactly is today confronting Hindu is however much more difficult to meet than earlier in history because the forces at work to erode and undermine Hindu faith, unlike before, are unseen, clandestine, pernicious, deceptive but most of all sophisticated and media-savvy. Tragically therfore, a much more educated and larger numbers of Hindus have been unwrittingly co-opted today in this sinister conspiracy.

Since the task to defeat the nefarious forces ranged today against Hindu society is not going to be easy, we cannot therefore trust those amongst in our midst whose commitment to the motherland is ambivalent or ad hoc or those who feel no kinship to the Hindu past of the nation.

The Hindustani Mindset

Hence,as Swami Vivekananda said: “”Arise, Awake and Go Forth as Proud Hindus”. But what does being a proud Hindu constitute? The core is the mindset, a definite way to analyse events happening around us and formulating action that is patriotic gleaning the writings of our sages, in the modern context, ***mindset of the Hindu means the following axioms:***

First, a Hindu , and those ***others who are proud of their Hindu ancestry, must know the correct history of India.*** That history which records that Hindus are one; that there is no truth in the Aryan-Dravidian race theory, that caste is not birth-based and nor immutable. ***India is a continuum, Sanatana***. Moreover Ancient Hindus and their modern descendents have always lived in this area from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean, an area called Akhand Hindustan, and did not come from outside Instead they went abroad to spread learning.

Second, ***Hindus must believe that all other religions equally lead to God, but not that all other religions are equal to Hinduism in the richness of it”s theological content.*** Hindus believe that God”s darshan can be had in one”s lifetime, and that their religion is a more humane towards non-believers, and charts a more practical path to God for believers.

Respecting all religions, Hindus expect from others that respect for other religions is two-way. If Hindus are to defend the right of others to adhere to one”s own religion, then other religionists have to stand up for Hindus too. ***But secular attitude, as presently defined, is a one-way traffic, and Hindus must reject the implied appeasement.***

Third, Hindus must prefer to lose everything they possess rather than submit to tyranny or to terrorism. Hindus worship Rana Pratap, Rani Jhasi, Raji Bennur, Kattaboman and Subhash Bose not because they led us to victory or found out a safe compromise [they did not], but because of their courage of conviction. Of course those victorious like Shivaji or the Vijayanagaram kings are adored, but those who capitulated like Raja Man Singh or Jai Chand or Pudukottai Raja are despised. ***Today those who submit to terrorists and hijackers must be vehemently despised.*** They are not Hindus just because they are pious or go regularly to the temple.Even Ravana regularly went to pray before Shiva.That does not make him a good Hindu.

Fourth**, **the Hindu must have a mindset to retaliate when attacked. The retaliation must be massive enough to deter future attacks. If terrorists come from training camps in Pakistan,Bangla Desh or Sri Lanka, Hindus must seek to carpet bomb those training camps, no matter the consequences. Today"s so-called self proclaimed "good"" Hindus have failed to avenge or retaliate for the attack on Parliament, Akshaya Mandir, Ayodhya, and even a former Prime Minister"s [Rajiv Gandhi"s] assassination. ***On the other hand those who defend the assassin of Rajiv Gandhi and praise the terrorist organization behind them, have been made central government Ministers today by his widow Ms.Sonia Gandhi.***

Fifth, all Hindus to qualify as true Hindus must make effort to learn Sanskrit and the Devenagari script in additon to the mother tongue, and ***pledge that one day in the future, Sanskrit will be India"s link language. All Indian languages*** [Tamil included] have forty or more percentage of their vocabulary common with Sankrit already.

These five attributes constitute a mindset that a modern Hindu must have to be in a position to confront the challenge that Hindu civilization is facing from Islamic terrorists and fraud Christian missionaries from abroad, who are also aided and abetted from within the country . Without this mindset, we will crumble by subversion and erosion, and undermine the Hindu foundation of India. This foundation is what makes India distinctive, and hence we must safeguard it with all that we have.

(iv) National Interests are Above Religious Affinity

Secularism must imply that national policies especially in foreign affairs and opposition to terrorist states are not coloured by religious affiliation. Hindus are being lulled, that the terrorist attacks or missionary activities have nothing anti-Hindu in content. Muslims and Christians in India on the other hand are being subject to relentless propaganda from abroad that they are entitled to place their religious affirmities above national interests, and are citizens of India as would be a shareholder in a company run for the profit and not of a united country.

We Hindus cannot fight it unless we first identify what we have to fight. We cannot effectively respond unless we understand the nature and complexity of the challenge. What makes the task of defending Hinduism much more difficult today is that the threats are not obvious as when marauding entities were Ghazni, Ghori,or Clive.The means of communication and the supply of funds in the hands of our enemies are multiples of that available in the past, for camouflaging their evil purpose.

Hinduism Under a Siege

My contention here today is that Hindus are facing a four dimensional siege and this siege is pernicious, clandestine, deceptive and sophisticated. It requires an enlightened Hindu unity to combat the threats and get the siege lifted. We have to begin by first understanding the content and scope of the siege before Hindus can unite to battle it. These four dimensions are:

(1) The clandestine defamation of Hindu symbols and institutions

Making Hindus lose their self esteem by disparaging their tradition had been the strategy of British imperialists for the conquest of India. Speaking in ***British Parliament, Lord macauley said on February 2, 1835 the following;***

"such wealth I have seen in this country (India), such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do think we would ever conquer this country unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which [backbone] is her spiritual and cultural heritage. And therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native self-culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation".

That basic strategy of those who want to see a weak and pliant India remains. Only the tactics have changed. Now the target is the Hindu institutions and Hindu icons, and the route is not the creation of a comprador class to subdue the nation but fostering a psychological milieu to denigrate the heritage and to delink the Hindu from his past legacy thereby causing a loss of self esteem and a pride in the nation"s past. There are already many examples of this heppening.

A ***false murder case was foisted on the Acharyas of the 2500 years old Kanchi Mutt, Hindus have watched it as spectators, and with nagging doubts about the truth, and in fact about the Acharyas themselves.*** The Supreme Court has however held that the case has "no worthwhile" prima facie evidence..." [Court records:(2005) 2 Supreme Court cases 13, para 12, page 20] and that the alleged confessions of other accused persons implicating the Acharyas "have very little evidentiary value" [para 10.]

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The state government of Karnataka for example, soon after the Kanchi acharyas arrest, blatantly patronized the congregation of a Benny Hinn who is under US Internal Revenue Service investigation. ***US Christian organizations such as the Trinity Foundation have exposed him as a fake.*** Yet in the admiring presence of the Karnataka Chief Minister, and Central Government Ministers" Benny Hinn was allowed to usurp the Bangalore Air force campus and hold a rally to denounce Hindu concepts and demonstrate his "cure" of the hopelessly and terminally ill or handicapped persons just by placing his hand, in the name of Jesus, on their heads. ***Bangalore police officers later told the media that the whole exercise was a fraud since the "ailing "persons were trucked in from Erode*** in TN a week earlier and trained to fake the ailments and the cry of being cured on stage. Of course they were well paid for this deception. Such obscurantism was however extolled by the Congress party leaders, while mouthing secularism. ***Benny Hinn in the end publicly boasted that a "friend of Sonia Gandhi" had helped to clear the way to make the Bangalore event possible.***

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According to t***he Ministry of Home Affairs, in 2002-03 private bodies with FCRA permission had received Rs.5046 crores as contribution from abroad. In 2005-06 it is estimated by insiders these contributions at Rs.7500 crores, of which two-thirds was going to Christian missionary organizations. This hefty sum has been used essentially for conversion and to defame Hinduism. Without defamation of Hinduism, conversion is not easy for these missionaries.***

Another route to defame Hinduism is the textbook portrayal of Hindu society. Already Swami Ramakrishna Parmahans has been described in disparaging in government prescribed text books. Traitor Raja Jai Chand has been described as a hero, and Prithviraj as a coward. ***Since English language provides a fast track channel to India from abroad for propagation of ideas, books disparaging Hindu gods and goddesses, sannyasis, and other icons are being published abroad and imported for use in public schools. Lord Ganesha has repeatedly been portrayed in most hurtful terms. Shiva linga has been*** ridiculed.

Hence in the national interest, not only Hindus must unite, but Christian and Muslims must rise above their religious affiliations and should resolve to fight this and other such atrocities on Hindu symbols and institutions by aiding mass Hindu mobilization against it.

(2) Demographic restructuring of Indian society

People of India who declare in the Census that they are adherents of religions born on Indian soil, that is Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains constituted 84.21% of the total Indian population in 2001. In 1941, the proportion adjusted for partition was 84.44%. This figure hides the fact that Hindus resident in undivided Pakistan have migrated to post-Partition India which is why the share of Hindus and co-religionists have barely reduced since 1941. In the area now called

Bangladesh, Hindus were 30% in 1941. In 2001 they are less than 8%. In Pakistan of today, Hindus were 20% in 1941, and less than 2% in 2001. Such ethnic cleansing has not been noticed by anybody. If the figures are adjusted for this migration, then in the five decades 1951-2001. Hindus have lost more 3 percent points in share of Indian population, while Muslims have increased their share by about 3%. What is even more significant is that Hindus have lost 12% points since 1881, and the loss in share has begun to accelerate since 1971 partly due to illegal migration from Bangladesh.

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The continued rise in the share of Muslims and Christians in the total population is a threat to the Hindu foundation of the nation. And we have to find ways and means to meet this threat. Kerala is a state where the Hindu population declined from 69% in 1901. In 100 years to 2001, the share has fallen to 56%. Muslims are now 25% and Christians 19%. But Hindus share in agricultural activities has fallen to 24%, while for Christians the share has risen to 40%. For Muslims it is 33%. In commerce and industry too the same proportions obtain, while in foreign employment, Hindus share is just 19%, Muslims 49.5% and Christians 31.5%.

In the fertile districts of Western UP, from Rampur to Saharanpur, Muslims due to a much higher population growth rate are now 40% of the population. Six of the 14 districts of Assam in the northeast are already Muslim majority, and by 2031, all fourteen will be Muslim majority if present trends of differential population growth rate and illegal migration from Bangladesh continue.

In northeast India, minus Assam, 45.5% of the population is already Christian. Every one of the seven sisters states has a galloping Christian population. ***Arunachal which had zero Christian population in 1971, now has over 7%.***

These two communities today fiercely safeguard their control of instituions spawned on public money besides receiving funds from abroad. Take for example the educational institutions. ***Jamia Millia Islamia University has been recognised as a central university with liberal government grants, but 88% of the faculty is Muslim. American College, Madurai"s faculty is 66% Christian.*** It"s junior ***faculty is 95% Christian. Union Christian College at Aluva, Kerala has 83% Christian faculty. There are no exceptions. All institutions run by Muslims and Christians have grossly disproportionate share of their religionists.*** It is only recently that Allahabad High court struck down as unconstituitional the central university, the Aligarh Muslim University"s reserving more than 95 percent of the admissions and faculty positions for Muslims. ***The Hindu tax payer money was used all these decades to fund the AMU!*** The Banaras Hindu University, incidentally, has no reservations for Hindus, either for students or faculty.

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Now with the publication of Dan Brown"s Da Vinci Code and ***revelations about Opus Dei organization, Hindus hve to go on high alert about christian missionaries from abroad.*** Moreover, patriots concerned with the note that conversion to Christian faith has been put on a war footing by entrepreneurs. In Dallas, Texas USA, the Global the next fifteen years, ***the organization will support financially worldwide the construction of five million churches*** and alone, the target is according to the evangelist Pat Robertson, 100 million persons. Hence Hindus are facing a terrible pincer; Islamic fast population growth and illegal migration, in conjunction with Christian money—induced conversion activities. In the interest of secularism, Muslims and Christians must stand with the besieged Hindus, and not look out for their narrow religious interests.

Hindus also have to hang together or ultimately be hanged separately. This is no inflamed psychosis. Not long ago, despite being the overwhelming majority, Hindus had to pay discriminatory taxes to the Muslim and christian emperors who were ruling India. Lack of unity

was the reason, and not poverty. In fact when the onslaught and enslauement took place, India was the richest country in the world. Within 150 years thereafter we were reduced to the poorest in the world. Now if the demographic restructuring described herein goes on unchecked, then the danger becomes several fold than before. ***National interest demands that Muslims and Christians join with Hindus in demanding that the Government ban foreign missionaries from entry into India and enact a national law to ban conversions from Hindus to other religions.***

[3] The rise of Terrorism Directed at Hindus

If one were to study the terrorism in Kashmir and Manipur, it is apparent that Hindus have been the special target. The driving away of the Hindu population from the Kashmir valley by targeted terrorism by Islamic jihadis is the single biggest human rights atrocity since Nazi Germany pogroms against the Jews. Yet it has hardly received notice in international fora. Why? Hindu population in Bangladesh has declined from 30 percent to less than 8 percent of the total population by deliberate targeted ethnic cleansing by Islamic fanatics aided had abetted by their government [see ***Hindus in Bangladesh, Pakistan and India"s state of jammu & Kashmir: A survey of Human Rights,*** june 17, 2005,
www. hinduamerican foundation.org] and yet there is no outcry. Why? This is because of the lack of Hindu mindest to retaliate against atrocities against Hindus. When in 1949, anti-Hindu riots took place in East Pakistan, Sardar Patel had declared that if the government there could not control it, then India was quite capable of putting it down for them. Soon after the riots stopped. Terrorist attacks against India and Hindus in particular thus are growing because we seem today incapable of retaliating in a manner that it deters future attacks.

According to the well known *National Counterterrorism Centre*, a US government body, in it"s report titled ***A Chronology of International Terrorism for 2004 states*** that: "India suffered more significant acts of terrorism than any other country in 2004", a damning comment India is suffering on an average about 25 incidents of terrorism a month. India"s Home Ministry in it"s 2004-5 Annual report to Parliament acknowledges that 29 of the 35 states and union territories are affected by terrorism. Moreover, all India"s neighbours have become hot-beds for anti_Indian terrorists training.

Because of a lack of Hindu unity and a mindest for deterrent retaliation, terrorists have become encouraged. In 1989, the Indian government released five dreaded terrorists to get back the kidnapped daughter, Rubaiyya, of the then Home Minister. Kashmir terrorists got a huge boost by this capitulation. When the Indian Airlines plane with 339 passengers was hijacked to Kandahar, Afghanistan, the government again capitulated and relesed three of the most dangerous terrorists. Today three of the most murderous terrorist organizations in Kashmir are directed by these three freed terrorists. Then there is the case of the LTTE which murdered Rajiv Gandhi. We have made no effort to apprehend the leader of the LTTE who had ordered the assassination. On the contrary, those MPs [of PMK, MDMK and DMK] ***who publicly praise that leader and hold the assassination as justified, have become Union Ministers in a coalition led by the widow of Rajiv Gandhi!***

Terrorism cannot be fought by appeasement. But that precisely is what the government is doing. Tragically innocent Hindus have invariably been the victims of this capitulation. To combat terrorism, there has to been a determination never to negotiate a settlement with terrorists. Citizens of a country have to be educated that there will be hazards when faced with acts of terrorism, but that the goal of the government will always have to be to hunt down the terrorists and fix them. ***Only under such a zero tolerance policy towards terrorism will the ultimate good emerge.*** For example in the Indian Airlines hijack case, in order not to risk 339 passengers" lives the government released ***Mohammed Azhar from jail. But Azhar went to Pakistan after his release and formed the Jaish-e-Mohammed which has since then killed nearly a thousand***

innocent Hindus and is still continuing to do so. How has the nation gained by the Kandahar capitulation then?

Hence all religious communities, irrespective of the religious affliation of the terrorists, must demand unitedly of national political leadership to treat the fight against terrorism as a *Dharmayudha* as fight to the finish, and a religious duty not to negotiate, compromise or capituale to terrorists. The government must also safeguard the nation by adopting a policy of "hot pursuit" of terrorists by chasing them to their sanctuaries no matter which country they are located, and of what religious denomination.

[4] The erosion of Moral Authority of Governance

The well known organization *Transparency International* has graded about 140 countries according to the corruption levels from least to the most. India appears near the bottom of the list as among the most corrupt. Recently **The mitrokhin Archives II** has been published wherein KGB documents have been relied on to conclude that shamefully **"India was on sale for KGB bribes".** If India is one of the most corrupt countries today and purchasable, it is because the core Hindu values of simplicity, sacrifice and abstinence have been systematically downgraded over the years. Wealth obtained by any means has become the criteria for social status. there was a time in India when persons of learning and simplicity enjoyed the moral authority in society to make even kings bow before them. Not long ago, Mahatma Gandhi and later Jayprakash Narayan without holding office were here exercising the same moral authority over political leaders. In a very short period, that Hindu value has evaporated.

India is fast becoming a banana republic in which everything, person or policy is avilable to anyone for a price. The proposal, now implemented in some states, to have reservation in government employment for Muslims and "Dalit" Christians is one such sell-out. ***Reservation quotas are strictly for those whom the Hindu society due to degeneration had isolated from the mainstream.***

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Non-Hindus must join this Hindustani unity, and become part of the Hindustan rashtra, but first they must agree to adhere to the minimum requirement: that they recognize and accept that their ancestry is Hindu, that they revere their ancestors, that they are as equal before law as any other but no more, and that they will make ***sacrifices to defend their Hindu legacy [i.e., have a Hindustani mindset], just as any good Hindu would his own. In turn then the Hindu will defend such non-Hindus as they have the Parsis and Jews, and take them as the Hindustani parivar.***

SUMMARY

1. Secular politics in India is to be understood in two dimensions: the practice of secularism in political decision-making, and the political parameters of the concept of secularism.
2. That is, first, political choices should not be influenced by the religion of a citizen of Hindustan and second, that secularism cannot be defined to undermine the national cohesion and unity of the nation.
3. Within this framework, secularism has to be defined that is appropriate for fostering the unity of the nation, absence of discrimination, and according to the norms of democratic politics consistent with that goal.
4. None of the current definitions of secularism are adequate for the above stated goals, in particular the aggressive left, reactionary, or the nehruvian versions. All three definitions simply a disassociation of with our hoary glorious past.

5. A definition of secularism consistent with pursuing enlightened secular politics and fostering national unity that bonds us with our countinuing civilization, includes five commitments.

6. These are;

   (i) Uniform Legal Code, both civil and criminal

   (ii) Ban on religious conversion from Hindu to other

   (iii) Sanskritisation for Hindustan nation.

   (iv) Concept of Hindustani mindest.

   (v) National interest above religious affinity

7. **Uniform Legal Code :** Already Shariat stands rejected in India"s criminal law, and Muslims of India have accepted it. Hence no argument not to have Uniform Civil Code.

8. **Ban on Conversions :** Dysfunctional mismatch in theology, hence no scope for argument on permitting conversion of Hindus. ***Converted from Hindus can be re-converted.***

9. **Sanskritisation :** secularism can have appeal only if the concept does not entail freezing the social order. If the state is prohibited from facilitating upward mobility in the name of secularism then it will be discredited.

10. **Hindustani mindset :** Know your correct history; No appeasement, i.e., demand reciprocity; prefer to lose everything than submit to tyranny or blackmail or threats such as a nuclear war; retaliate massively when attacked including "hot pursuit" as a deterrent for the future; Learning Sanskrit will facilitate integration. Minorities must learn it too since they are descended from Hindus. That is Hindustan.

11. **National interest :** Secularism must imply that national policies especially foreign affairs and opposition to terrorist states are not coloured by religious affinities. For example on Israel and Pakistan or Nepal.

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श्री वसंत साठे
पूर्व केन्द्रीय सूचना व प्रसारण मंत्री

सबसे पहले तो मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि बार–बार **जो गलतफहमी हो जाती है वह ''धर्म'' भाब्द के गलत प्रयोग के कारण होती है।** अभी हमारे मित्र ने कहा था कि हमारे सेक्युलरइज़्म का अर्थ है 'सर्वपंथ समभाव' या 'सर्व संप्रदाय समभाव'। **धर्म भाब्द का भारतीय संस्कृति में अर्थ बड़ा व्यापक है। धर्म का अर्थ है : ''धारयतीति धर्मः''** अर्थात् सारे समाज को जो धारण करता है, वह विचारप्राणी, वह जीवन पद्धति है धर्म। इसलिए बार–बार हम जब यह कहते हैं तो समाज में राजा का प्रजा के प्रति क्या धर्म है, बड़ों के प्रति बच्चों का व्यवहार कैसा होना चाहिए, यह धर्म है, यानि सामाजिक कर्तव्य। हमने हमारे संविधान में 'सेक्युलरवाद' भाब्द बाद में जोड़ा परंतु विचार क्या था? **विचार संविधान की धारा 15 और 16 में निहित है कि हम हमारे देश के जो नागरिक हैं, उनमें किसी भी प्रकार का भेदभाव नहीं करेंगे।** किस मामले में नहीं करेंगे? तो वह था : रिलिजन यानि संप्रदाय, कास्ट यानि जाति, लिंग, स्थान, भाषा या फिर इनमें से कोई भी। ये सब बिन्दु ऐसे हैं जिनके लिए कोई व्यक्ति स्वयं जिम्मेदार नहीं है। इसलिए इन बिन्दुओं के आधार पर हम कोई भेदभाव नहीं करेंगे। संप्रदाय के आधार पर हम भेदभाव नहीं करेंगे तो **फिर धर्म या संप्रदाय के आधार पर माइनारिटी या मैजोरिटी कहाँ से आ गई?** यह तो बिल्कुल एक–दूसरे के विरुद्ध बात हो गई। जब सब बराबर हैं तो कुछ लोगों को हम संप्रदाय के आधार पर ज़्यादा अधिकार देते हैं, तो खत्म हो गया सेक्युलरइज़्म वहाँ। समान भाव खत्म। सेक्युलरइज़्म जड़ से ही खत्म। **सेक्युलरइज़्म में अल्पसंख्यक–बहुसंख्यक भाब्द कहाँ लागू होते हैं? अल्पसंख्यक और बहुसंख्यक तो बदलने वाली चीज़ें हैं।** अगर आज का बहुसंख्यक कल अल्पसंख्यक बन जाए या अल्पसंख्यक कल बहुसंख्यक हो जाएं। परमानेंट अल्पसंख्यक और जो कभी बदली नहीं जा सकती–यह कॉन्सेप्ट इक्वैलिटी बिफोर लॉ के कॉन्सेप्ट (विधि के समक्ष समानता की संकल्पना) में कहाँ बैठता है, यह कोई मुझे बताए। इसलिए अल्पसंख्यक कहना केवल पंथ के लोगों को बहकाना है, सिर्फ कमी ान बनाओ और अल्पसंख्यक के नाम पर और अधिक अधिकार देने की बात, यह क्या है? **शैक्षिक संस्थान अल्पसंख्यक चला सकते हैं, यह जिस दिन फैसला हुआ उसी दिन 'सेक्युलरइज़्म' का यहाँ खात्मा हो गया। अल्पसंख्यकवाद भी कैसा, देखिए! इस्लाम का अध्ययन करना बड़ा जरूरी है।** जहाँ मुसलमान कम संख्या में हैं या कमज़ोर हैं, खुद मुहम्मद के जीवन में मदीना में हिज़रत करने से पहले जब उनकी शुरूआत हुई, तो कम लोग थे। **तब बुतपरस्त कुरैश लोग थे, पूजा करने वाले। आपके लिए आपका मज़हब, मेरे लिए मेरा मज़हब। यह तब कहा, जब कमज़ोर थे।** किन्तु मुहम्मद के जीवन में ही आठ साल के अंदर, जब तादाद बढ़ी और लड़ाई दर लड़ाई ताकत बढ़ती गई तो सात साल में मक्का पर हमला करके मक्का पर कब्ज़ा किया और अपने हाथ से तमाम बुत तोड़ डाले। **दूसरा कोई मज़हब नहीं रह सकता इस्लाम के साथ।** इस्लाम में अल्लाह को छोड़कर किसी दूसरे ईश्वर की बात करने को कहते हैं–शिर्क और जो शिर्क करता है वह कुफ्र करता है, वह इस्लाम के खिलाफ काम करता है, अल्लाह के खिलाफ काम करता है और कुफ्र करने वाले **काफिर के लिए एक ही सजा है या तो कल्मा पढ़ कर इस्लाम मंजूर करे या फिर सिर काटा जाएगा या फिर देश छोड़ कर निकल जाओ। यही काम खुद मुहम्मद ने अपने जीवन में किया, सारे अरबस्थान में।** दुनिया में एक भी मुल्क जहाँ मुस्लिम बहुसंख्यक हैं, आप बता दीजिए कोई ऐसा देश जो इस्लामिक स्टेट न हो। बांग्लादेश में शुरू में मुजीबुर्रहमान ने कोशिश की थी मगर बात नहीं बनी, कमाल अतातुर्क ने तुर्की में की मगर तुर्की में भी बात नहीं बनी। हो ही नहीं सकता। क्योंकि स्टेट चलाने वाला एक ही कानून मानना पड़ेगा। वे मुसलमान आज बहुसंख्यक नहीं हैं, यहाँ। पाकिस्तान में हैं, इसलिए शरीयत कानून है वहाँ, दूसरे धर्म के लोग जो कुछ वहाँ पर हैं, नॉट ईक्वल सिटिज़न्स (वे समान नागरिक नहीं है) क्योंकि वे शरीयत को नहीं मानते। तो हिन्दुस्थान में जिन्हें आप परमानेंट माइनॉरिटी कहते हैं, वह आपका सेक्युलरइज़्म तब चाहता है जब उनका पर्सनल लॉ महफूज़ है। अरे! आप अंगुलि तक नहीं लगा सकते, शरीयत के कानून को क्योंकि वे कहते हैं कि आपके क्रिमिनल लॉ में जब तक हमें प्रोटेक्शन है, तब तक ठीक है लेकिन मज़हब का मामला आते ही वे कहते हैं कि उसमें आप बिल्कुल भी इन्टरफेयर (हस्तक्षेप) न करें, यदि आपने उनके लॉ को छू लिया तो वे जिहाद के लिए तैयार बैठे हैं, मरने–मारने के लिए तैयार हैं। आप दुनिया में देखें तो फर्क क्या दिखता है कि भारतवर्ष में पैदा हुए जो पंथ हैं चाहे बौद्ध, सिख, जैन या कोई और इनमें से

कोई भी तलवार लेकर नहीं निकले, फैलाने के लिए। हमारे यहाँ कन्वर्ज़न (मतान्तरण) नाम की कोई चीज़ ही नहीं है। इसलिए बुद्ध का जो विचार है वह तलवार से कहीं नहीं फैला। लेकिन इस्लाम अरबस्थान में भी जो फैला वह तलवार से फैला। मुहम्मद के बाद चार खलीफाओं ने भी आस–पास पर्शिया (फारस–वर्तमान ईरान) आदि में जो इस्लाम को फैलाया वह तलवार के जोर पर ही फैलाया। तो इसलिए यह बार–बार कहा गया हैं कि अल्लाह के लिए आप अगर कुछ काम करो और काम करते समय आप शहीद हो जाओ तो सीधा जन्नत में, और फिर सत्तर हूरें और लड़के और जमजम का पानी और वगैरह–वगैरह। फिर ये टेररिस्ट (आतंकवादी) क्यों बनते हैं? मदरसे से ही उनके दिमाग में जो बार–बार यह डाला जाता है कि अल्लाह के लिए इस्लाम को फैलाना, सारी दुनिया में इस्लाम का राज होना जरूरी है। उन्होंने (मुसलमानों ने) ईसाइयत के खिलाफ भी जिहाद किया मगर सबसे बड़ा जिहाद किया तो वह बुतपरस्तों के खिलाफ। तो आपके इस देश में मुझे जो डर लगता है वह मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि यू.एन. (संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ) की एक स्टेटिस्टिक्स (सांख्यिकी) की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर कहा गया है कि आने वाले 50 साल में इस्लाम मतावलम्बी इस सारे महाद्वीप में यानि बांग्लादेश, पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्थान में आपकी पूरी हिन्दू सोसायटी से ज्यादा हो जाएंगे, संख्या में और वह जब पूरा हो जाएगा तो अखण्ड भारत का आपका सपना पूरा हो जाएगा, क्योंकि वे डोमिनेट करेंगे तब वे मांग करेंगे कि एक कॉन्फीरेशन (परिसंघ) होना चाहिए पाकिस्तान, बांग्लादेश और हिन्दुस्थान का और आबादी के मुताबिक इस्लामी कानून चलना चाहिए और फिर इन तीनों मुल्कों को मिलाकर क्योंकि इस्लाम का वर्चस्व होगा इसलिए उनका कानून चलेगा यानि भारीयत का कानून चलेगा। आप आपस में लड़ते रहना, जाति के आधार पर। मुझे दुख इस बात का है कि स्वामी विवेकानन्द कह–कह कर थक गए, आदिशंकराचार्य ने कहा कि'.... जन्मना जायते शूद्रो.....

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता में भगवान श्रीकृष्ण ने कहा–

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृ टम्, गुण कर्म विभागशः
तस्य कर्तारमपिमाम् विद्ध्यकर्तारम् अव्ययम्

(श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, अध्याय 4, भलोक 13)

हमारा समाज धर्म पर आधारित है, जाति के आधार पर नहीं बना। मण्डल आया तो स्पष्ट हो गई, यह बात। जाति के आधार पर आरक्षण चाहिए। डॉ0 अम्बेडकर ने यह सोचकर इनको बौद्ध बनाया कि कम से कम बौद्ध धर्म में जात–पाँत नहीं है, बेचारे खुद वे रोते हुए गए क्योंकि उनको फोलोअर्स (अनुयायियों) ने कहा कि हमें आरक्षण चाहिए क्योंकि हम कौन हैं–नवबुद्ध और नवबुद्ध के आधार पर हमें आरक्षण चाहिए।

सावरकर जी ने अपने जीवन में सबसे बड़ा आन्दोलन चलाया–जाति भेद उच्छेदक आन्दोलन, उन्होंने पतित–पावन मंदिर बनाया और अछूत भाई के हाथ से शिलान्यास कराया। उन्होंने कोशिश की और कहा कि जाति–भेद को छोड़ो क्योंकि हमारे वेदों में यह सब कुछ नहीं है।

हमारे आन्दोलन में, मैं यह अनुरोध करता हूँ, सब भाइयों से कि हमारे समाज के इस ज़हर को, इस कैन्सर को, इस दीमक को जाति–वाद को मिटाओ। सनातन लगातार चलता रहता, सदा रहता है, ऐसा सनातन। वेदों में मूर्ति पूजा भी नहीं थी। ''एकम् सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति।''

सागर, महासागर जिसमें सब नदियाँ आकर मिलें और **हमारे जो परिवर्तित (मतान्तरित) पंथ परिवर्तित 99 प्रतिशत लोग इस्लाम में गए लोग तथा ईसाइयत में गए लोग, इनको आत्मसात करने की ताकत लाओ।**

यदि हम संकीर्ण, जन्म पर आधारित जातिवाद, जिसका हमारे वैदिक द र्शन में भी समर्थन नहीं हैं, उससे ऊपर उठते हैं, जिसे आप हिन्दू समाज कहते हैं। हालांकि विवेकानन्द ने कहा कि भाब्द पर्शियन (फारसी) के सिन्धु का अपभ्रंश होता है 'स' का 'ह'। सिन्धु का हिन्दु हुआ। **मैं कहता हूँ कि आज इसे राष्ट्रवाचक भाब्द बनाओ, हिन्दुस्थान। सब देशों के नाम हैं, हिन्दुस्थान में रहने वाला हिन्दू ही हो सकता है। इसलिए मैंने कहा था कि संविधान के आर्टिकल–1 में कहा है कि 'इंडिया दैट इज़ भारत' आप कहो ''भारत दैट इज हिन्दुस्थान''। माँ–बाप और पुण्यभूमि यही है।**

सेक्सुलरइज़्म लाना है तो दो काम करो – जातिवाद भाब्द और जन्म पर आधारित शब्दों को खत्म करो। कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। सारी जातियाँ व्यवसायनिष्ठ होनी चाहिए। आज यह अर्थहीन हो गया है। फिर भी गाँव–गाँव में इतना जातिभेद है। इसने खोखला कर दिया है हमारे समाज को।

तुम लोग तो कम पैदा करोगे मगर वे कहते हैं कि इस्लाम को बढ़ाना है, इसलिए ज्यादा पैदा करो।

एक तो जातिभेद मिटाकर वेदान्त को पुनः स्थापित करो। तमाम लोगों को हिन्दुस्थानी बनाओ। हिन्दुस्थानी की भा ाा हिन्दी होगी या हिन्दवी या जो कोई उसे हिन्दुस्थानी कहना चाहे तो हिन्दुस्थानी कह दो। इसी से आपका सेक्युलरइज़्म जीवित रहेगा। नहीं तो बड़ा खतरा है, देख लो।

धन्यवाद।

108, ए ब्लॉक, सुशान्त लोक
गुड़गांव (हरियाणा)

सेक्युलरवाद का अभिशाप

मा. अशोक जी सिंहल

अभी श्री वसंत साठे जी ने बड़ा सारगर्भित व्याख्यान दिया है और उन्होंने इस मंच से बड़े सुन्दर विचार दिए हैं, और हमारे सुब्रह्मण्यम् स्वामी जी ने और अन्य महानुभावों ने विचार व्यक्त किए हैं।

हिन्दू समाज की आज जो दुरवस्था है और इस देश में जिनका आक्रमण है और जिस प्रकार की उनकी हमारे ऊपर चढ़ाई है, उस विषय में चिन्ता व्यक्त की गई है। जो बातें उन्होंने कही हैं वे अक्षरशः सही बातें हैं। इस देश में लगभग हज़ार वर्ष तक इस्लाम का शासन रहा और लगभग डेढ़ सौ वर्ष ईसाइयों का शासन रहा। इसमें से इस्लाम यह कहता है कि जो अल्लाह को नहीं मानते, वे काफिर हैं और उनके लिए दो ही स्थान हैं या तो वे इस्लाम कबूल करें या उनका कतल कर दिया जाए। इसी आधार पर उन्होंने इस विश्व में इस्लाम का विस्तार मोरक्को से लेकर इंडोनेशिया तक किया। केवल भारत ही ऐसा देश है जो आज भी 85 करोड़ हिन्दुओं के रूप में विद्यमान है। यह ही उनकी आंखों में किरकिरी है कि वे भारत में हिन्दू को धर्मान्तरित नहीं कर सके। यहाँ पर ईसाइयों का राज रहा। उन्होंने दूसरी बात बोली कि मनुष्य जन्म लेते ही पापी है और इसलिए उसे स्वर्ग तभी मिलेगा जब वह जीसस की शरण में जाए। इसलिए उन्होंने अपना कर्तव्य मान लिया है कि यदि सारी दुनिया को स्वर्ग में ले जाना है और नरक से बचाना है तो उनका बड़ा भारी कर्तव्य है कि सबको जीसस की शरण में ले जाएं। ये दोनों ही पंथ चले, इस संसार के भीतर। वे तलवार के जोर पर, हिंसा के जोर पर चले और यही कारण है कि पहली शताब्दी में यूरोप, दूसरी में अफ्रीका और उत्तरी और दक्षिणी अमरीका ईसाई हो गए और यही कार्य (भारत के) उत्तर–पूर्व में ईसाइयों की ओर से बढ़–चढ़ कर हो रहा है। हिन्दू समाज के संबंध में अभी साठे साहब ने कहा कि आज हिन्दू समाज जाति–बिरादरी, पंथ, भाषा में विभाजित है। यह बात सत्य है कि आज हिन्दू समाज 85 करोड़ होते हुए भी यहाँ साढ़े तेरह प्रतिशत इस्लाम के अनुयायियों की सत्ता चल रही है। तथाकथित अल्पसंख्यकों की सत्ता चल रही है और हिन्दू समाज बिरादरी में जो विभाजित है उसका भी कारण है, आज गाँव–गाँव में हमको जो ऊँच–नीच, छूत–अछूत दिखाई देता है, उसका बहुत बड़ा कारण इस्लाम है, क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ अछूत तो कोई था नहीं, हाँ अपराध करने वाले अव य हमारे देश के भीतर चाण्डाल के रूप में दण्डित किए जाते थे। संख्या तो बहुत थोड़ी रहती थी, मगर **इस्लाम मज़हब वाले जब यहाँ पर आए तो जिन्होंने इस्लाम स्वीकार नहीं किया उनको अपराधी मानकर चाण्डाल के रूप में दण्ड दिया गया और उनको भारत में अछूत बना दिया गया। इसलिए आज इतनी बड़ी संख्या में जो अनुसूचित जातियाँ दिखाई देती हैं, ये सब उनके द्वारा निर्मित हैं, दण्डित हैं, क्योंकि वे इस्लाम स्वीकार करने को तैयार नहीं थे।** यह बहुत बड़ा विषय है जिसके पीछे जाना पड़ेगा और जानना पड़ेगा कि इस देश में अनुसूचित जातियों का निर्माण किसने किया है? कब हुआ यह? किन्तु हमारे यहाँ पर स्मृतियों का बहुत वर्षों तक प्रभाव रहा और इन स्मृतियों के प्रभाव से आज भी हमारा समाज जकड़ा हुआ है। किन्तु स्मृतियाँ हमारे समाज का संचालन नहीं कर रही हैं। स्मृतियाँ लागू करने की जो प्रक्रिया कभी किसी काल में थी, वह समाप्त हो चुकी है। इनका निर्माण कब हुआ? लोग कहते है कि मनु ने स्मृतियों का निर्माण किया है। अगर मनु के काल से ये स्मृतियाँ होती तो कहीं न कहीं इनका जिक्र अवश्य ही होता। महाभारत में अवयव इनका जिक्र होता मगर, ऐसा नहीं होता कि मनुस्मृति का महाभारत में कहीं भी रेफरेन्स नहीं होता। **मनु के नाम से ये स्मृतियाँ कब बनी हैं, बौद्ध काल के पश्चात् बनी हैं। इसका भी गहन अध्ययन होना आवश्यक है।** जब अशोक का राज्य आया तो सारे देश के भीतर हमारा राजधर्म ही बौद्ध हो गया और अधिक काल तक जब यह चलता रहा तो उनके एक बड़े सेनापति ने इस राज्य को बौद्ध धर्म राज्य के नाते से समाप्त करने के लिए राजा की हत्या की अतएव उनका नाम हम प्रतिदिन अपने प्रातःस्मरण में लेते हैं। लगभग 2200 वर्ष में ही इन स्मृतियों का निर्माण हुआ है। ये स्मृतियाँ बहुत बड़ी संख्या में हैं। जहाँ–जहाँ छोटे–छोटे राज्य थे उन्होंने ये स्मृतियाँ अपने लिए बनाई। **लगभग तीन सौ स्मृतियाँ आज भारत में उपलब्ध हैं। उनमें कुछ शाश्वत बातें हैं। कुछ नियम हैं। ये नियम उस काल के लिए अवश्य होंगे किन्तु उन नियमों का आज की जिस परिस्थिति से हमारा देश गुज़र रहा है, उनमें उनकी प्रासंगिकता नहीं रह गई।**

मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्थिति निराशाजनक नहीं है। हमारे देश में बहुत बड़ी संख्या में हज़ारों वर्षों में बड़े–बड़े संप्रदायों का जन्म हुआ है और उन संप्रदायों को मानने वाले भी अपने देश में बड़ी संख्या में विद्यमान हैं। इनमें से शंकराचार्यजी के मानने वालों को छोड़कर ऐसा कोई संप्रदाय इस देश में

नहीं मिला जो इन स्मृतियों का समर्थन करता हो। आज स्मृतियाँ कालबाह्य हो गई हैं, इसलिए इनकी मान्यता समाप्त होनी चाहिए, यह बात हमारे देश के लगभग सभी आचार्य स्वीकार करते हैं। यह बहुत बड़ी बात है। विहिप की स्थापना के समय भिन्न–भिन्न संप्रदायों के आचार्य पहली बार एकत्र हुए। कहा जाता है कि हर्षवर्धन के बाद कुंभ के अवसर पर पहली बार वे एक मंच पर आए। और आज भी इस प्रकार की 11 वीं धर्म संसद् में सभी संप्रदायों के सभी बड़े–बड़े आचार्य एक मंच पर आए। जब शंकराचार्य जी से भेंट करने के लिए मैं तिरुपति गया तो, वे मुझसे कहने लगे कि मेरी गिरफ्तारी से समाज का अपमान तो जरूर हुआ और हमारे मठ का भी अपमान हुआ परन्तु एक बड़ा कार्य यह हुआ कि आज पूरा संत समाज संगठित होकर एक मंच पर आने के लिए बाध्य हो गया है। पूरे देश में यह परिवर्तित परिस्थिति दिखाई पड़ रही है। इस बार 11 वीं धर्म संसद् 6 स्थानों में हुई। छठे स्थान तिरुपति में सब संप्रदायों के सब संत एक साथ एक मंच पर आए थे केवल एक आचार्य नहीं आ पाए थे। सांप्रदायिक एकता अगर देखनी हो तो उस मंच पर दिखाई पड़ रही थी। वे केवल दिखाने के लिए इकट्ठे नहीं हुए थे। यह धर्मसंसद् उत्तर भारत के लिए हरिद्वार में, पश्चिम भारत के लिए वड़ताल (गुजरात) में, मध्य क्षेत्र के लिए प्रयाग (माघ मेले के अवसर पर), में वसंत पंचमी के अवसर पर जगन्नाथपुरी में और पूर्वी भारत के लोगों और परिस्थितियों को देखते हुए असम के सात राज्यों के लिए अलग से धर्म संसद् हुई। तिरुपति में दक्षिण भारत के प्रांत आए।

मैं स्मरण दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हरिद्वार में भी बहुत बड़ी संख्या में संत इकट्ठे हुए। श्री श्री रविशंकर जी जिनके जन्मदिवस के उपलक्ष्य में इस बार 30 लाख लोग एकत्रित हुए, उसमें प्रणव पंड्या जी और दयानन्द सरस्वती जी भी उपस्थित थे। प्रणव पंड्या जी का बहुत बड़ा संगठन फैला हुआ है, पूरे भारत में। वे सबको यज्ञोपवीत देते हैं, श्रीमंत्र देते हैं और उन्होंने गायत्री मंत्र की दीक्षा बड़ी संख्या में लोगों को दी। उन्होंने जो बात कही, यह बहुत महत्त्व की है, उसको समझने तथा मनन करने की है। उन्होंने कहा कि अब तक तो हम अलग–अलग थे मगर अब लगता है कि हम लोग जितने भी बड़े **संत भारत में हैं, जिनका प्रभाव है, वे इकट्ठे होकर अपने–अपने अनुयायियों को कहें कि वे अपने जिलों में गाँव–गाँव में निकल पड़ें, जिले में किसी भी गाँव को नहीं छोड़ें। यह जो धर्मान्तरण हो रहा है, चाहे इस्लाम मतावलम्बियों द्वारा हमारी कन्याएं उठाई जा रही हों, चाहे चर्च द्वारा धर्मान्तरण का जो कार्य चलाया जा रहा है, उसको सख्ती के साथ रोकने की आवश्यकता है। लोग अपने धर्म पर आरूढ़ बने रहें, ये सब संप्रदायों के मिलकर प्रयत्न होने से गाँव–गाँव के लोगों को हम मतान्तरित होने से रोक सकते हैं, और रोकना पड़ेगा।** हमारे मंदिरों के प्रति निष्ठा चाहिए, अनेक स्थान हैं जहाँ सरकार द्वारा हमारे मंदिरों का अधिग्रहण किया गया है। उन मंदिरों की सुव्यवस्था के लिए गाँव के सभी लोग मिलकर कार्य करें, यह हमारा मंदिर है, इस नाते मंदिर की सुव्यवस्था करें। आतंकवादी हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करते हैं, चाहे हमारी गऊ पर आक्रमण हो, चाहे हमारे मंदिरों या फिर हमारे संतों पर आक्रमण हो रहे हों, उनके विरोध में पूरा समाज खड़ा हो जाए। आत्मरक्षा के लिए खड़े हो जाएं। यह बात धर्मसंसद् में संतों के मुख से निकली, दक्षिण भारत में जब सब संप्रदाय इकट्ठे हुए थे, तब सभी ने यही बातें कहीं कि हर ज़िले में हमारे जो संप्रदाय को मानने वाले हैं, सब एकत्र होकर अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा करें।

आज जो पाश्चात्य संस्कृति का हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण हो रहा है, उससे सबको सावधान करें, हमारे संतों ने यह भी तय किया कि आव यकता पड़ने पर पूरे देश में एक बहुत बड़ी यात्रा निकालें। गाँव–गाँव में जाए, यह यात्रा। यह बहुत बड़ी चिंता हमारे सामने है कि समाज धर्म और बिरादरी में बंटा है। लोगों में जाएंगे तो कहेंगे कि धर्म बड़ा है। चुनाव आते ही वह बिरादरी खोजने लगते हैं। इसलिए समाज की रक्षा का कार्य संतों के अलावा, मुझे नहीं लगता दूसरा कोई कर सकता है। उनके अनुयायी उनकी बात पत्थर की लकीर मानते हैं।

जितनी भी धर्म संसदें हुईं उनमें एक बात उभर कर सामने आई कि हम गाँव–गाँव में मिलकर यात्रा करेंगे। आज हिन्दू समाज जो विघटित दिखाई पड़ता है, उसको संगठित करने का इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य मार्ग नहीं। हमारा संख्या बल कम हो रहा है। इस संख्या बल को कैसे संतुलित रखें, यह भी एक प्रधान वि ाय है, हमारे समाज के सामने। **हमारे बीच से जो मतान्तरित हो गए हैं, उन्हें वापिस कैसे लाएं, ये प्रयत्न भी हमें करने चाहिए।** तब यह बात आती है कि 9–10 करोड़ कहाँ रहेंगे, कहाँ जाएंगे। हमें ऐसा लगता है कई बार कि ये बहुत कट्टर हैं, कभी हिन्दू समाज में आ ही नहीं सकते, मगर अनुभव ऐसा नहीं कहता है कि गाँव–गाँव में जब हम जाते हैं तो कोई गहराई तक इस्लाम या ईसाई बन गया है, ऐसा नहीं है। **किन्ही कारणों से जो बने थे, वे फिर से वापिस आ सकते हैं।** मुझे उदाहरण देना है।

ब्यावर क्षेत्र में सत्तर हज़ार मुसलमान फिर से पुराने चौहान तथा क्षत्रिय वंश में आ गए हैं। जहाँ–जहाँ हमने बड़े पैमाने पर सेवा कार्य किए हैं, जब गाँव–गाँव में बड़े पैमाने पर शिक्षा और आरोग्य के लिए कार्य शुरू हुए हैं, 35 से 45 हज़ार ईसाई अकेले बाँसवाड़ा जिले में हिन्दू धर्म में वापिस आए हैं। यह श्रमसाध्य कार्य है। इसमें बहुत श्रम लगेगा और प्रत्येक गाँव–गाँव में यह कार्य होगा तो जो बात कही गई है कि **भारत हिन्दू राष्ट्र है, हिन्दू राष्ट्र के अंतर्गत ही हम सबको अपना जीवन यहाँ जीना है, तो यह बात भारत में सबको स्वीकार करनी पड़ेगी। मेरा तो ऐसा मानना है कि भगवत्कृपा इस देश पर सदा रही है।** अब तक हम अकेले लड़ रहे थे, मगर आज स्थिति ऐसी नहीं है। सितम्बर के पश्चात् परिस्थितियों ने बहुत बड़ा पलटा खाया है और उसके पश्चात् तो यूरोप की तोपें एक–दूसरे के सामने लग गई हैं, यह हम देख रहे हैं। मैं काशी गया हुआ था कुछ दिन पहले, कारटून को लेकर 55 हज़ार इस्लाम मज़हबी बेरिया बाग में इकट्ठा हुए थे, वहाँ से जो लोग निकल कर आए तो मैंने पूछा कि क्या यहाँ बहुत बड़ा कार्यक्रम हुआ तो हमारे एक बंधु कहने लगे कि उनके अल्लाह की लड़ाई गॉड से हो गई है। यह बात उन्होंने कही और वास्तव में यह बात बहुत सत्य है कि तोपें किसी दूसरी तरफ लग गई हैं। हमें समय मिला हुआ है कि हम अपने समाज को मुक्त करें ताकि जिस संगठन की हम कामना लेकर चलें हैं, वह संगठन खड़ा हो सके। कई बार परिस्थितियों को देख कर हमें लगता है कि हम इस समाज को संगठित नहीं कर सकते, मगर चमत्कार होते हैं। जब बड़े–बड़े संत इकट्ठा होने की बात कहने लगे, एकसाथ चलने के लिए कहने लगे तो मुझे अपने गुरुदेव की बात याद आ गई। मैं गुरुदेव से कहता था कि ईसाइयत के प्रचार के लिए इतनी बड़ी मात्रा में धन आ रहा है, चर्च बन रहे हैं? तो वे मुझसे कहते थे कि पैसा आ ही तो रहा है, जा तो नहीं रहा, यह मुझसे वे कहते थे। वे कहते थे कि तुम्हारे देखते–देखते ही यह भारत शिखर पर चढ़ जाएगा संसार के। **मेरे गुरु सिद्ध महापुरुष थे, उन्हें भविष्य दिखता था।** कितने ही प्रसंग मेरे जीवन में आए। तो मैंने कहा कि यदि कोई भवन गिराना हो तो देखते–देखते गिर जाएगा ऐसा तो सुना है मगर देखते–देखते बन जाएगा, ऐसा तो न सुना न देखा, तो **उन्होंने मुझसे एक बात कही कि क्या अकेले तुम ही इस देश में काम कर रहे हो? वास्तव में जो यह समझते हैं कि वे ही अकेले काम कर रहे हैं, दूसरा कोई नहीं, वे ठीक नहीं सोच रहे।** आज यह स्थिति है कि प्रणव पंड्या जी भी काम कर रहे हैं, आप अगर बुद्धपंथियों में जाएंगे तो दिखाई पड़ेगा कि हज़ारों की संख्या में भगवान् की उपस्थिति में काम चल रहा है, देश के कोने–कोने में काम चल रहा है। वास्तव में ये सब एकत्र हो गए, तो उन्होंने (मेरे गुरुदेव ने) गलत नहीं कहा था, कि देखते–देखते यह देश शिखर पर चढ़ जाएगा। कुछ न्यूनताएं हैं। मगर मुझे लगता है कि न्यूनताओं को हमारा देश, हमारा समाज, हमारे साधु–संत सब चीजों को देख रहे हैं, और जानते हैं कि यदि हम सब एकत्र हो जाएंगे तो इस काम को हम कर सकते हैं। इसलिए आज जो सेक्युलरइज़्म का रूप दिखाई दे रहा है, मुझे बड़ा क्षणिक दिखाई देता है। मुझे ऐसा भी लगता है कि इस सेक्युलरइज़्म के नाम पर इस्लाम मज़हबी हिन्दूसमाज पर जितना आक्रमण करते जाएंगे उतना ही हिन्दू समाज एक–दूसरे के पास सरलता से आएगा। शायद शंकराचार्यजी को नहीं पकड़ा गया होता, तो हमारे अखाड़ों के अन्दर यह भावना नही पैदा होती कि हम सभी को इकट्ठे होना है। ये अखाड़े क्या होते हैं, कितने होते हैं, हमारे लोगों को पता नहीं। ये 13 अखाड़े होते हैं। हमारे देश में जो कुंभ होता है, वह कुंभ इन अखाड़ों के आधार पर ही होता है। लाखों संत हैं एक–एक अखाड़े के अन्दर। मैं हरिद्वार में था, तब मेरे पास इन अखाड़ों के प्रमुख आ गए और कहने लगे कि अशोक जी चलिए अब सीमा पार करनी पड़ेगी। तब ये अखाड़ों के लोग ही भिन्न–भिन्न अखाड़ों में ले गए। उन्होंने कहा कि हम संयुक्त रूप से दिल्ली में प्रदर्शन करेंगे। अखाड़े जो थोड़े–बहुत विभाजित थे, वे सब संगठित होते हुए दिखाई पड़े। **वास्तव में हिन्दू समाज को नीचा दिखाने के लिए शंकराचार्य जी को पकड़ा गया। शंकराचार्य जी कोई इस प्रकार का हत्याकांड कराएंगे, कोई कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता।** मगर हमारे हिन्दू समाज को नीचा दिखाने के लिए हमारे समाज के सबसे बड़े संत को पकड़ा गया, उसका परिणाम क्या हुआ। प्रतिक्रिया बहुत ठीक हुई है और उसका रिफ्लेक्शन धर्म संसद् में दिखाई पड़ा। जो कभी हमें संतों का एकीकरण नहीं दिखाई पड़ा वह इस बार धर्म संसद् में दिखाई पड़ा। रामजन्मभूमि पर आक्रमण हुआ, वे सब आतंकवादी मार गिराए गए। पर **उन आतंकियों को मुलायम सिंह जी द्वारा बड़े सम्मान के साथ दफनाया गया। जिन्हें दण्ड मिलना चाहिए था, उन्हें सम्मान के साथ दफनाया गया। उन्हें दफनाना नहीं चाहिए था बल्कि उन्हें जला देना चाहिए था।** उनका क्रीमेशन होना चाहिए था। भाायद अगर ऐसा हो तो ये आतंकवादी कार्रवाइयां रुक जाएं क्योंकि क्रीमेशन होने के बाद उन्हें बहिश्त नहीं मिलेगा, हूरें नहीं मिलेंगी, यह विश्वास है उनके यहाँ।

बम विस्फोट के बाद मैं वाराणसी में सभी स्थानों पर गया, लोगों से मिला, घायलों से मिला। इस एक घटना का बहुत बड़ा परिणाम हिन्दू जन–मानस पर हुआ है, चाहे गाँव हो या शहर हो। कहना पड़ा कि पूरे उत्तर प्रदेश में बंद कर दो, तो पूरे उत्तर प्रदेश में बंदी हो गई। पूरे वाराणसी में लोग नहीं दिखाई पड़ रहे थे। लोगों ने इस पूरी घटना को किस प्रकार से लिया है? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार संत समाज में एकीकरण हुआ है, उसी प्रकार पूरे समाज में एकीकरण होना आवश्यक है और यह हो भी रहा है। मुझे लगता है कि यह जो एक तरफा सेक्युलरइज़्म के दिमाग चढ़ा दिए गए हैं इस देश में व्याप्त हिन्दू समाज को एक करने के लिए, बाध्य करने के लिए ही, यह हो रहा है हमें नुकसान नहीं है, होने दिया जाए। अगर कुछ और भी होता है तो वह भी होने दिया जाए। लड़ाई डेनमार्क तक पहुँच गई है।

हम अकेले नहीं हैं। मुझे लगता है कि भगवत् भाक्ति भारत में काम करती है। यह जो डिवाइन भाक्ति उसके बारे में कोई जानता भी नहीं कि यह किस प्रकार से काम करती है। **इस देश के सनातन धर्म को कोई भी स्पर्श नहीं कर सकेगा।** आने वाले 50 वर्षों में हिन्दू अल्पसंख्यक हो जाएगा, यह गणित लगाया जा रहा है, जैसा कि साठे जी ने बताया, मगर वह गणित, गणित से नहीं चलता। ईश्वरीय योजना कुछ रहती है। उनके यहाँ कहा गया है जब तक पूरा विश्व इस्लाम नहीं होता तब तक मुहम्मद साहब आएंगे नहीं, और तब तक न्याय होगा नहीं, तब तक वे कब्रों में ही पड़े रह जाएंगे और यही बात ईसाई कहते हैं कि जब तक कि पूरे विश्व का ईसाइकरण नहीं हो जाएगा तब तक और तब तक डे ऑफ़ जजमेंट नहीं आएगा। तो ये दोनों शक्तियाँ लगी हुई हैं।

मैं सिद्ध संत देवराहा बाबा के पास गया हुआ था, वे भविष्य देखते थे। उन्होंने कहा कि इन दो महाशक्तियों के बीच संघ र्ा होगा और भारत बचेगा, हमारा सनातन धर्म बचेगा। हम लोग भविष्यवाणी पर ही विश्वास करके चलें, ऐसा तो नहीं होता, हमें तो कृतित्व करना पड़ेगा। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि पूरे हिन्दू समाज को संगठित करने के लिए और उसके कर्तव्य को जागृत करने के लिए बहुत बड़ा परिश्रम और देश की तैयारी चाहिए और भगवान् का वरद हस्त हमारे ऊपर है। यह सेक्युलरइज़्म जो भारत में राजनीति कर रहा है, उसको करने दो, क्योंकि होगा वही जिस कार्य को हम चले हैं, वही अन्ततोगत्वा सफल होगा। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है **कि भविष्य में भारत में, जिस प्रकार की परिस्थितियाँ दिखाई पड़ रही हैं सेक्युलर नाम का कोई व्यक्ति शायद ढूंढ़ने से भी नहीं मिलेगा।**

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अध्यक्षीय भाषण

प्रो. डॉ. राम गोपाल गुप्ता

भारत में सेक्युलरइज्म पर सभी लोगों ने भिन्न आयामों पर अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किए। ये सारे ही विचार बहुत सारगर्भित और महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। इसमें मैं एक–दो बातें और जोड़ना चाहूँगा। एक बात तो यह कि **हिन्दू धर्म में इतनी शक्ति है कि इसके ऊपर इस्लाम अपना प्रभाव नहीं डाल सका,** परन्तु अगर हम इसे दूसरे ढंग से देंखे तो लगभग हज़ार वर्ष के अन्दर इसी भारत से अफगानिस्तान अलग हुआ, वह मुस्लिम राष्ट्र बना। पाकिस्तान मुस्लिम राष्ट्र बना और बांग्लादेश मुस्लिम राष्ट्र बना। दूसरे शब्दों में **भारत का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा मुस्लिम मतावलम्बी हो गया।** आज हम जिस संदर्भ में बात कर रहे हैं, उस संबंध में लोगों की धारणा है कि 50–60 वर्षों में इस भारत के कुछ भूखण्ड को इस्लाम अपने कब्जे में ले सकता है, कुछ और टुकड़े हो सकते हैं। तो हमें इस बात को भी ध्यान में रखना है कि ऐसा नहीं है कि इस्लाम अपने कार्यों में सफल नहीं हुआ। यदि वे एक हिन्दू का भी धर्म परिवर्तन कराने में सफल हो जाते हैं, तो वे तो अपने गोल (लक्ष्य) की तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं और हम सदा डिफैन्सिव (रक्षात्मक) रहने के कारण कहीं न कहीं चूक कर जाते हैं।

दूसरी बात जो डॉ. सूर्यकांत बाली जी ने कही थी, **आजादी की लड़ाई में भाायद परंपरागत हिन्दू समाज का अलग से कोई नेतृत्व नहीं था** और इस संदर्भ में सोचा भी नहीं गया था। इस संदर्भ में या तो गांधी जी ने सोचा था, दूसरा उस संस्था ने जो 1925 में राष्ट्रीय स्वयंसेवक संघ के रूप में सामने आई। पर यह इस देश का दुर्भाग्य था कि आजादी के कुछ समय पश्चात् ही महात्मा गांधी जी की हत्या हो गई, वे अपनी बात को संविधान में नहीं ला सके और किन्हीं कारणों से आर.एस.एस. पर भी प्रतिबंध लग गया। उस समय संविधान में हम अपना जो योग दे सकते थे, या कुछ परिस्थितियों को परंपरागत भारतीय मूल्यों की तरफ मोड़ सकते थे, उसमें हम नाकाम रहे। सन् 1983 में मछलीपुरम् में जो घटना हुई जिसमें काफी बड़े हिन्दू समाज को इस्लाम में परिवर्तन किया गया। उसके बाद इस देश में जो एक प्रभाव, दायरा बढ़ने लगा उसकी परिणति में 1983 में भारतमाता एकात्मता यात्रा निकली थी। इन 23 वर्षों के अंदर इस देश में हिन्दू समाज काफी संगठित हुआ है और इस समय वाराणसी में जो घटना हुई उसके बाद लोगों के विचार मैंने सुने हैं कि डेनमार्क में कोई बात होती है तो उनको आप यहाँ कुछ नहीं कहते। लेकिन यहाँ कुछ ऐसी घटना होती है कि एक उभार आने लगा। मैं सिर्फ दो बातें और कहना चाहूँगा कि पार्लियामेंट में कोई भी राजनीतिक दल हिन्दुओं की बात कम ही करता है या करता है तो वह बात आगे नहीं आ पाती। अभी **8 अगस्त 2005 को सुप्रीम कोर्ट (उच्चतम न्यायालय) ने अल्पसंख्यक–बहुसंख्यक और सेक्युलरइज़्म के संदर्भ में एक बहुत बड़ा जजमेंट (निर्णय) दिया है। इसके बारे में इस देश के अंदर चर्चाएं होनी चाहिए थीं, संगोष्ठियाँ होनी चाहिए, उसके ऊपर आर्टिकल लिखे जाने चाहिए थे, लेकिन इस बारे में कोई आगे नहीं आया।** कारण है कि **हमारे देश का जो बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग है वह मार्क्सवाद के घेरे में है।** उनको यह सूट नहीं करता कि ये चर्चाएं आगे हों और लोगों तक पहुँचे, क्योंकि **सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने यह बहुत स्पष्ट कहा है कि अल्पसंख्यक और बहुसंख्यक यह कोई धारणा ही नहीं है।** यदि आप इस तरह सोचेंगे तो भारत में छोटे–छोटे अनेक टुकड़े हैं, आप बहुसंख्यक किसे कहेंगे और अल्पसंख्यक किसे कहेंगे। इसके बारे में पूरे ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में फैसला किया गया है। इस प्रकार की चीज़ों को अगर बुद्धिजीवी वर्ग मीडिया में विश्वविद्यालयों, कॉलेजों में लेकर जाए तो शायद हिन्दू समाज और आगे बढ़ेगा।

अभी उज्जैन में मैंने कुंभ देखा था जिसमें बहुत बड़ा वर्ग साधु–संतों का है जिनकी बहुत बड़ी फोलोइंग है। वे सब अब मिलजुल कर एक मंच पर आ रहे हैं और बहुत से लोगों को अपने परिवेश में ला रहे हैं और ये सब बातें इस दिशा में बहुत अच्छी हो रही हैं। सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जो फैसला है यह बहुत ऐतिहासिक फैसला है। इसके अंदर संविधान की मूल भावना कि सब समान नागरिक हैं, कोई अल्पसंख्यक–बहुसंख्यक नहीं होना चाहिए, इसकी कुछ अच्छे ढंग से व्याख्या की गई है। मैं सोचता हूँ कि इस विषय पर भी यदि बुद्धिजीवी आगे आकर चर्चाएं करें और समाचार–पत्रों में लिखें तो प्रचार–प्रसार होगा और चीज़ें आगे बढ़ेंगी। मुझे हिन्दू समाज में भाक्ति लग रही है और चीज़े आगे बढ़ रही हैं।

मैं आशावान हूँ और आज जिस प्रकार की संगोष्ठी हुई है उससे हम लोगों का और मनोबल बढ़ेगा। मैं सब महानुभावों का जो मंच पर हैं डॉ. सुब्रह्मण्यम् स्वामी, श्री साठे, श्री अशोक जी सिंहल, श्री भारतेन्दु

प्रकाश सिंहल को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप सभी ने अपने विचार यहाँ पर रखे जिससे हम सब लोगों का मनोबल बढ़ा है। इससे हम काम करने में और अधिक समय लगा पाएंगे।

धन्यवाद।

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भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति
संगोष्ठी का सारांष

नई दिल्ली, दिनांक 11 मार्च 2006

भारत के संविधान के अनुच्छेद 51क में वर्णित भारत के नागरिकों के कर्तव्यों के प्रचार–प्रसार के लिए समर्पित एकमात्र संस्था *सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान* के तत्त्वावधान में नई दिल्ली में 11 मार्च 2006 को नगर के प्रतिष्ठित सभागार हिन्दी भवन में एक भव्य संगो ठी का आयोजन हुआ। संगोष्ठी में पूर्व केन्द्रीय मंत्री और कांग्रेस के वरिष्ठ नेता श्री वसंत साठे, जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष और पूर्व केन्द्रीय वाणिज्य और न्याय मंत्री डॉ. सुब्रह्मण्यम् स्वामी, प्रसिद्ध पत्रकार डॉ. सूर्यकांत बाली, सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान के राष्ट्रीय कार्यकारी प्रधान श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल, ओजस्वी वक्ता डॉ. सुरेन्द्र जैन, वि व हिन्दू परिषद के अंतर्राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री अशोक सिंहल ने *भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति* विषय का विवेचन करते हुए यह स्थापना की कि सेक्युलर शब्द भारत की राजनीति में हिन्दू विरोध का प्रतीक बन गया है।

आरंभ में भारतमाता तथा भगवती सरस्वती की प्रतिमाओं पर माल्यार्पण और उनके समक्ष दीप प्रज्ज्वलन के पश्चात् वन्देमातरम् की प्रस्तुति हुई। तत्पश्चात् अतिथियों के स्वागत और परिचय के बाद संपूर्ण आयोजन के स्वागताध्यक्ष प्रमुख भवन निर्माता और शिक्षा के प्रसार में प्रमुख स्थान रखने वाले समाजसेवी **श्री दीपक भारद्वाज** ने निम्नलिखित विचार रखे :–

यह संगोष्ठी भारत में सेक्युलर राजनीति के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर विचार–विमर्श करने और समाज के समक्ष इसके गुणावगुणों की प्रस्तुति के लिए रखी गई है।

आप जानते ही हैं कि जब संविधान बन रहा था तब संविधान निर्माताओं के स्वप्न में भी यह बात नहीं थी कि आगे चलकर इसकी उद्देशिका में पंथनिरपेक्ष और समाजवाद जैसे भाब्द जुड़ेंगे। आपात्काल के दौरान भारत के संविधान की उद्देशिका में ''समाजवादी और पंथनिरपेक्ष'' भाब्द जोड़ दिए गए थे, जिन्हें हमारी जनता को अंगीकृत और आत्मार्पित करने की बाध्यता रही। मैं इस अवसर पर पंथ निरपेक्षता और सेक्युलरवाद भाब्दों की चीरफाड़ नहीं कर रहा हूँ बल्कि आप सब प्रबुद्ध श्रोताओं, पत्रकारों आदि सबसे यह अनुरोध करता हूँ कि सेक्युलरवाद का चेहरा विकृत हो रहा है और इसका झुकाव एक तरफ होता दिखाई पड़ रहा है, जिसके कारण देश का बहुसंख्यक समाज अपने आपको उपेक्षित और छला गया महसूस कर रहा है, क्योंकि गाँव–गाँव में हमारी जनता को यह लग रहा है कि सेक्युलरवाद के नाम पर पाखण्ड और ढोंग बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। आप इस संगोष्ठी में इन सब पहलुओं पर विचार करते हुए मार्गदर्शन करें जिससे यहाँ बैठे हुए पत्रकार सारे देश में ऐसा संदेश दे सकें, जो नईं दिशाओं का दीपक प्रज्ज्वलित करें।

संगोष्ठी के वि ाय पर प्रास्ताविक भा ाण ओजस्वी वक्ता डॉ. सुरेन्द्र जैन ने दिया। **डॉ. सुरेन्द्र जैन** ने यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया कि भारत में हज यात्रियों के लिए करोड़ों रुपये की सब्सिडी, उसके विपरीत कैलाश मानसरोवर के यात्रियों पर भारी यात्रा कर, मस्जिदों के इमामों को सरकारी कोष से वेतन पर सैंकड़ों करोड़ों रुपयों का व्यय इसके विपरीत मंदिरों तथा दर्शनार्थियों पर अलग से टैक्स, दिल्ली की जामा मस्जिद की मरम्मत हेतु पिछले कई दशकों में करोड़ों रुपयों का अनुदान, इसके विपरीत ऐसे मंदिरों के अधिग्रहण का क्रूरतम कृत्य जिनमें हिन्दुओं से बड़ी मात्रा में चढ़ावा आता है आदि, ऐसे कुकृत्य हैं जो सेक्युलरवाद का उपहास करने के लिए काफी हैं। किसी भी सरकार ने किसी मस्जिद या चर्च का अधिग्रहण करने का साहस नहीं किया किन्तु हिन्दुओं के मंदिरों पर राज्य सरकारों और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने गिद्ध दृष्टि गड़ा रखी है।

डॉ. सूर्यकांत बाली ने तर्कयुक्त भौली में यह बात स्पष्ट की कि देश की राज्य सरकारें और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने मुस्लिम तुष्टीकरण की सभी मर्यादाएं तोड़ दी हैं। से.नि. न्यायमूर्ति राजेन्द्र सच्चर की अध्यक्षता में गठित एक समिति द्वारा हिन्दुओं के सिर पर चोट करके अल्पसंख्यकों के तुष्टीकरण के लिए जी तोड़ कोशिश की जा रही है और नए–नए नुस्खे तैयार किए जा रहे हैं। हाल ही में सेनाओं में मुस्लिमों की संख्या के आँकड़े इकट्ठा करने का प्रयत्न इस तरह का घोर गैर–उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण कार्य है। उन्होंने विशेषतया इस तथ्य पर जोर दिया कि आज 85 प्रतिशत हिन्दू यदि जागरूक होता तो वह ईरान में वैदिक

संस्कृति की पराजय को नहीं भूलता, सन् 1761 में अफगानिस्तान का भारत से अलग हो जाना उसे याद होता, फिर 1947 के विभाजन उसे याद होते किन्तु हिन्दू समाज दिग्भ्रमित है।

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल ने यह सिद्ध करने की कोशिश की कि छद्म–पंथ निरपेक्षता भारत के लिए अभिशाप बन रही है। उदाहरण–स्वरूप हिन्दी के साथ–साथ अंग्रेजी को बनाए रखना, वन्देमातरम् के साथ–साथ जन–गण–मन को राष्ट्रगान के बतौर बनाए रखना तथा वन्देमातरम् का निरतंर अपमान होते देखते रहना, समान नागरिक कानूनों का अभी तक न बनना किन्तु समान दण्ड संहिता का समाज पर समान रूप से लागू बने रहना, जो कि मुस्लिमों के हित में है, ये सब यह सिद्ध करने के लिए पर्याप्त प्रमाण हैं कि भारत में हिन्दुओं को दूसरे अथवा तीसरे दर्जे के नागरिकों की हैसियत में धकेल देने के पूरे–पूरे यत्न हो रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि अनके मस्जिदों से विस्फोटक, ए के 47 तथा अन्य हथियार बरामद हुए परन्तु उनके विरुद्ध कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई। उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि सीमा सुरक्षा बल, केन्द्रीय रिज़र्व पुलिस बल जैसे सुरक्षा बलों में मुसलमानों की विशेष भर्ती के लिए 18 मुस्लिम बहुल नगरों में विशेष मुस्लिम भर्ती अभियान निरंतर चलाए जा रहे हैं।

डॉ. सुब्रह्मण्यम् स्वामी ने तो स्पष्ट भाब्दों में यह कहा कि सरकार को ऐसे कानून नहीं बनाने चाहिए या ऐसी नीतियों का अनुसरण नहीं करना चाहिए जिनसे मज़हबी कट्टरता और आक्रामकता को बढ़ावा मिलता हो। उन्होंने इसे दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बताया कि अल्पसंख्यक वोट बैंक प्रभावित होने पर कानूनी मुद्दे भी राजनीति में घसीट लिए जाते हैं। उनका यह स्पष्ट मत था कि सेक्युलरवाद एकतरफा नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि आज के सभी भारतीय या तो हिन्दू (83 प्रतिशत) हैं या हिन्दू मूल के ही हैं, इसका यह अर्थ हुआ कि भारत का अर्थ हिन्दुस्थान है, इसलिए सिविल और दण्ड दोनों प्रकार की संहिताएं एक समान होनी चाहिए, हिन्दुओं के अन्य मज़हबों में मतान्तरण पर प्रतिबंध होना चाहिए और देश में हिन्दुस्थानी मानस तत्त्व की स्थापना होनी चाहिए।

संगोष्ठी में श्री वसंत साठे का भाषण बिल्कुल स्पष्ट और अनूठा था। उन्होंने यह स्पष्ट तौर पर कहा कि जो लोग भारत को हिन्दू राष्ट्र बनाने की बात करते हैं उन्हें भारत के संविधान में "India that is Bharat" भाब्दों के स्थान पर "Bharat that is Hindusthan" करा देने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए। उन्होंने यह स्पष्ट तौर पर कहा कि सेक्युलरवाद भारत के संविधान में संविधान के बनने के लगभग तीस वर्ष के बाद जोड़ा गया। यह सेक्युलरवाद विदेशी अवधारणा है, क्योंकि भारत और हिन्दू तो सदा से ही सर्वपंथ समभाव के पक्षधर रहे हैं। धर्म और मज़हब भाब्दों को अलग–अलग रखना आवश्यक है। धर्म शब्द का मज़हब और संप्रदाय या पंथ से कोई विशेष लेना–देना नहीं है इसलिए धर्म को मज़हब की अवधारणा देना उचित नहीं है। इस पृष्ठभूमि में सेक्युलरवाद एक खतरनाक मोड़ ले रहा है।

विश्व हिन्दू परिषद के अंतर्रा ट्रीय अध्यक्ष **श्री अशोक सिंहल** ने सेक्युलरवाद को घोर हिन्दू और भारत विरोधी घोषित किया। उन्होंने इसके दुष्परिणामों का विशेष तौर पर उल्लेख किया। सेक्युलरवाद के प्रसार के कारण संस्कृति का जो ह्रास हुआ है, उसके प्रति उन्होंने गंभीर चिंता व्यक्त की। उन्होंने उल्लेख किया कि पिछले कुछ महीनों में देश में आयोजित छः धर्म संसदों में पधारे देश के मूर्धन्य साधुओं और संतों ने सर्वसम्मति से यह संकल्प व्यक्त किया है कि देश में हिन्दू धर्मावलम्बियों की घटती हुई संख्या की पृष्ठभूमि में वे मतान्तरण का घोर विरोध करेंगे और सेक्युलरवाद के दानव को भूमिगत करने का पूरा प्रयास करेंगे। सिंहल जी ने कांचीकामकोटि पीठ के जगद्गुरु भांकराचार्य जी की गिरफ्तारी और उन पर लगे असत्य आरोपों का खुलासा करते हुए इसे विराट हिन्दू समाज पर गहरी चोट बताया। यह भी उल्लेख किया कि इससे सारे समाज में भारी आक्रोश है किन्तु जो अभी भ्रांत दिखाई पड़ता है। उन्होंने सरकारों द्वारा हिन्दू मंदिरों के अधिग्रहण के भाड्यंत्र का भी खुलासा किया और उसका घोर विरोध किया क्योंकि सरकारें मंदिरों के अधिग्रहण से प्राप्त धन का मस्जिदों की मरम्मत, इमामों के वेतन और मदरसों को अनुदान देने में प्रयोग करके सारे हिन्दुओं को आहत करने की कोशिश में लगी हैं।

सभापति **डॉ. राम गोपाल गुप्ता** ने अपने दीर्घ भौक्षिक अनुभवों के आलोक में भारतीय राजनीति के संघर्षपूर्ण दौर में सेक्युलरवाद को गंभीर षड्यंत्र के रूप में देखा।

संगोष्ठी के आरंभ में संस्थान के महामंत्री प्रतिष्ठित भाषाविद् और लेखक डॉ. महेश चन्द्र ने तीन पुस्तकें विमोचन के लिए प्रस्तुत कीं।

पहली पुस्तक ''हमारे मूल कर्तव्य'' सुप्रसिद्ध विधिवेत्ता डॉ. विजय नारायण मणि त्रिपाठी ने लिखी है जिसका विमोचन श्री वसंत साठे ने किया। श्री त्रिपाठी ने बताया कि संबंधित वि ाय पर दे ा की किसी भा ाा में पुस्तक उपलब्ध नहीं है, जबकि भारत के उच्चतम न्यायालय ने तथा अन्य न्यायालयों ने कर्तव्यों को विशेष महत्त्व देते हुए उनके प्रसार और पालन पर निरंतर जोर दिया है। डॉ. त्रिपाठी ने यह सिद्ध किया कि संविधान के अनुच्छेद 51क, में जिसके लिए सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान कार्यरत है, भारतीय नागरिकों के कर्तव्य भारतीय सांस्कृतिक वाड्मय से ही उद्भूत हैं जिसमें यत्र–तत्र कर्तव्यों के उल्लेख मिलते हैं।

दूसरी पुस्तक "Hipocrisy of Secularism" का विमोचन श्री अशोक सिंहल जी ने किया। पुस्तक के लेखक श्री आनन्द भांकर पंड्या ने सेक्युलरवाद के भाड्यंत्र और उसके दुष्परिणामों का, अपने जीवन के अनुभवों के आलोक में सारगर्भित विवेचन किया।

तीसरी पुस्तक ''छद्म सेक्युलरवादियों और इस्लाम का असली चेहरा'' के लेखक श्री कृष्ण स्वामी हैं। पुस्तक का विमोचन डॉ. सुब्रह्मण्यम् स्वामी ने किया। पुस्तक के प्रकाशक डॉ. कृष्ण वल्लभ पालीवाल ने अपने संक्षिप्त भाषण में भारत में सेक्युलरवाद को पूरी तरह इस्लाम का पक्षपाती बताते हुए वोट बैंक स्थिर करने के लिए सेक्युलरवाद को एक घिनौना मुखौटा सिद्ध किया। उल्लेखनीय है कि तीनों पुस्तकें सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान (पत्र व्यवहार का पता : डाक पेटी संख्या 5016, सेक्टर–5, रामकृ णपुरम्, नई दिल्ली–110 022) से मंगवाई जा सकती हैं।

सांस्कृतिक गौरव संस्थान के राष्ट्रीय उपप्रधान मेजर जनरल (से.नि.) विश्वास जोगलेकर ने सभी वक्ताओं, अतिथियों और उपस्थित महानुभावों का हार्दिक धन्यवाद किया और संगोष्ठी के सफल आयोजन के लिए कार्यकर्ताओं सहित हिन्दी भवन के अधिकारियों का भी धन्यवाद किया। मे.ज. जोगलेकर ने भी भारतीय सेना में कार्य करते हुए सेक्युलरवाद के कारण उत्पन्न मानसिक दुर्बलता का उल्लेख किया, फलस्वरूप दे ा के प्रति नि ठा और समर्पण की भावना कम होती दिखाई पड़ती है। उनका यह निश्चित मत था कि **लाखों वर्ष पुरानी भारतीय संस्कृति को आधार बना कर ही भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता को पुष्ट किया जा सकता है।**

राष्ट्रगान के साथ संगोष्ठी समाप्त हुई।

सेक्युलरवाद बनाम प्रतिक्रियावाद

श्री जयप्रकाशअग्रवाल

सेक्युलरवाद मात्र एक छोटी सी टहनी है, इसके मूल में जो वि ाल वृक्ष है वह है ''प्रतिक्रियावाद''।

इस वृक्ष ''प्रतिक्रियावाद'' की जड़ों को खोजने पर सिर्फ जड़ता ही नजर आती है। जड़ पदार्थों का स्वभाव ही है प्रतिक्रिया करना। **जड़ता और चेतनता का द्वन्द्व सार्वभौमिक और सार्वकालिक है।**

क्रिया की प्रतिक्रिया जड़ पदार्थों या जड़मति की बाध्यता है। चेतनता हमेशा सुनिश्चित, सुनियोजित, सोची समझी और उचित चुनाव के बाद की प्रक्रिया को प्रेरित करती है। इस प्रक्रिया को हम संक्रिया या संस्कार कहते हैं।

जड़ चेतन गुन दोषमय विश्व कीन्ह करतार।
संत हंस गुन गहहि पय परिहरि बारि बिकार।।

''राम चरित मानस''

संतों की इस सभा में मेरे विचारों में भी कोई न कोई गुन मिल ही जाएगा, ऐसा मेरा वि वास है। गुण की ग्राहकता संतों का स्वभाव है।

माननीय अशोक जी के उद्‌बोधन में मेरा ध्यान 2 बिंदुओं पर जाता है।

1. उनके गुरुदेव द्वारा यह संकेत दिया जाना कि विश्वव्यापी समस्या की चिंता करने वाले और भी कई लोग हैं। कई दिशा में अनेक महापुरुषों, संतों द्वारा वि व के कोने–कोने में समाधान का प्रयास किया जा रहा है।

यहाँ पर मेरे द्वारा लिखित ''प्रतिक्रियावादी भाक्तियों का सामना किस प्रकार किया जाए'' का उद्‌धरण उचित होगा विश्व विख्यात मेनेजमेन्ट गुरु डॉ. स्टेविन आर. कोवी का उद्‌घोष BE PROACTIVE, Don"t be reactive भाब्दशः संस्कारी बनो, प्रतिकारी नहीं। विश्व के दूसरे कोने से इस तरह का विचार आना अपने आप में सुखद आश्चर्य है।

रामचरित मानस में प्रतिक्रियावाद के उपचार का ही वर्णन है ऐसी मेरी मान्यता है।

कृपया मेरे डॉ. स्टेविन कोवी की कम्पनी फ्रेंकलीन कोवी को मेरे द्वारा लिखित पत्र में दिए गए विचारों पर भी मनन करें।

2. दूसरा बिन्दु–माननीय अशोक जी द्वारा यह वि वास करना कि प्रतिक्रियावादी समुदाय के लोग भी हमारे ही भाई बन्धु हैं, आज नहीं तो कल उन्हें हमारे रास्ते आना ही होगा। उक्त विचार उनके विशाल संत हृदय का परिचायक है, उक्त विचार हम कार्यकर्ताओं को निश्चित ठोस आधार प्रदान करता है।

हमारी कार्य योजना भविष्य के लिए कैसी हो? मेरा लेख इस प्रश्न का उत्तर ढूंढने की कोशिश है।

पष्ठभूमि :–यदि हम पिछले दशक पर ध्यान दें तो सूचना प्रणाली ने जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में क्रांति ला दी है। आज सच और झूठ के बीच का धुंधलापन कम होता नज़र आ रहा है। जितनी तेजी से यांत्रिक प्रणाली का विकास हो रहा है, उसको संचालित करने वाले मानव को उससे अधिक तेज होना पड़ेगा। सवार को घोड़े से अधिक तेज होना ही पड़ेगा।

किन विचारों के कारण मानव भाक्ति की उन्नति हो रही है और किन विचारों के कारण उसका ह्रास हो रहा है यह एक सुस्पष्ट प्रश्न है। यही प्रश्न हमारा मार्गदर्शक होगा।

विचारों को चुनने और विचारधारा को अपनाने का अधिकार हमारे पास ही है। हम किसी जड़, मृतप्राय रुढ़िवाद के गुलाम नहीं हैं। हम परम चेतन तत्त्व के एक जागृत अंश हैं। जैसे–जैसे यह जागृति बढ़ेगी वैसे–वैसे हम गुलाम बनाने वाले विचारों से मुक्त होते जाएंगे। यह पथ डॉ. स्टेविन कोवि की पुस्तक 7–HABITS OF HIGHLY EFEECTIVE PEOPLE में साफ नज़र आता है।

चेतनता या जागृति हमारे सामने विकल्पों को खोलती है और फिर हम चुनने की भाक्ति (विवेक) द्वारा संकल्पित हो जाते हैं। यही मुक्ति का मार्ग है।

RAM CHARIT MANAS is a great EPIC revered by billions of people allover the globe particularly South Asia.

The epic is very clear and emphatic about its narration about the battle of Powerful Leader (RAWAN) vs. Empowering Leader (BHAGWAN SHRI RAM). The tools and weapons prescribed in the epic are very much relevant today; they are all representation of different states of Mind. MANAS means state of mind.

REACTIONARY POWER
प्रतिकार का प्रताप

King of Lanka RAWAN
लंकेश रावण

Powerful leader
शक्तिशाली

Deadly and threatening
मरना–मारना

Ruthlessly after result
निर्मम

Manipulating Law of Nature
मायावी, देवों को बंधक बनाना

Functional blindness
मोह

I am the best
मैं सबसे बड़ा हूं

Controlling through the power of Desire.
सूर्पणखा, मेघनाद, कामना, काम की भाक्ति का अनौचित्य

Abundance of arms and ammunitions
औजारों, हथियारों का भंडार

Guided by own experience and confidence
मुझे ताकत दिखाना है

Purpose is to prove his might

No one can match my status /power
कोई मुझे छू नहीं सकता

Deadly and Anti-Life
भय दायक

Make everyone weep and cry

The literal HINDI word for this is RAWANA/RULANA
रुलाना

PROACTIVE SOLUTION
संस्कार का समाधान

God coming to earth as SHRIRAM
ईश्वर अवतार श्री राम

Empowering leader
शक्ति दायक

Lively and encouraging
रमना–रमाना

Kind, caring and nurturing
कृपालु–दयालु–मर्मी

Honoring Law of Nature
मर्यादा, देवों, ब्राह्मणों का आदर सत्कार

Total awareness and enlightenment
प्रकाश पुंज

I keep getting better by your advice and support
आपके आशीर्वाद और सहयोग से सफल हुआ, जीता

Harnessing the power of Trust
विश्वास को बढ़ाना, विश्वास (शिव) का आशीष लेना

Power of loyalty, honesty, Devotion,
Intelligence
संयम, सच्चाई, समर्पित, संकल्पित, चतुर, कार्यकर्ता

Collecting support and guidance from all directions from every creature

Purpose is to solve the global problem
विश्व की समस्या का समाधान करना

All of you are lovable respectable and can acquire my status
आप सबको गले लगाता हूं

Lively or Pro-Life
भय भंजन

Makes one rejoice the difficulties.

The literal HINDI word for this is RAMANA/RAMAANA
रमना / रमाना
The two main characters in Ram Charit Manas, very well describe all these qualities.

We acquire the qualities we love, respect and revere.

As a kid I had been reciting a lovely poem "MAA KHADI KI CHAADAR DE DE, MAIN GANDHI BAN JAAUNGA". माँ! खादी की चादर दे दे, मैं गाँधी बन जाऊँगा। Dear Mama give me a piece of KHADI cloth and I will become MAHATMA GANDHI.

Becoming Gandhi is much more than just wearing KHADI, but certainly it conveys the sentiments.

प्रतिक्रियावादी षक्तियों का सामना किस तरह किया जाए?

विश्व के सामने इस प्रश्न ने ज्वलंत रूप ले लिया है। आज यह समस्या व्यक्ति, समाज और देश सभी स्तरों पर महामारी के रूप में फैलता जा रही है।

आइए विचार करते हैं कि किस तरह हमारी संस्कृति इस वि ाय में हमारा मार्ग–दर्शन करती है और आधुनिक विचारकों की सोच–समझ भी उसी दिशा में प्रेरित है। प्रख्यात पुस्तक 7–Habits of Highly Eeffective People के लेखक Steven R. Kovey का विचार Be Proactive- (dont be Reactive) प्रतिक्रियावादी भाक्ति को नियंत्रित रखने की यह सलाह चरित्र निर्माण में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण कदम है।

''हर क्रिया की प्रतिक्रिया क्रिया के बराबर और विरोध में होती है। यह नियम जड़ वस्तुओं पर लागू होता है।

श्री कोवि के अनुसार क्रिया और प्रतिक्रिया के बीच एक अन्तर (कड़ी) है और यह अन्तर (कड़ी) तय करता है कि हम कैसी प्रतिक्रिया करते हैं अर्थात् हमारे अन्दर प्रतिक्रिया चुनने की क्षमता मौजूद है।

क्रिया प्रतिक्रिया

क्रिया प्रतिक्रिया

और जब हम Re-action चुनते हैं तब वह Pro-action बन जाता है। हम इनके भारतीय भाब्दों की ओर ध्यान दें।

Re-action	—	Pro-action
प्रतिक्रिया	—	संक्रिया
प्रतिवाद	—	संवाद
प्रतिबद्धता	—	संबद्धता
प्रतिकार	—	संस्कार

श्री कोवी का उद्घोष "Be-PROACTIVE" हमारे ऋ ि ा मुनियों और पूर्व–पुरुषों की सलाह ''संस्कारी बनो'' से मिलता जुलता है।

किसी भी वाद का हम उल्टा जवाब देते हैं तो वह प्रतिवाद होता है और हम चुनकर जवाब देते हैं तो वह संवाद होता है।

किसी समाज, नियम, कानून व्यवस्था से मजबूरी में बंधना हमारी प्रतिबद्धता होती है और यदि हम स्वयं चुनाव करें कि इस तरह बंधना हमें सुरक्षा और शक्ति प्रदान करेगा तो यह हमारी संबद्धता होती है।

संस्कारी बनना बहुत व्यापक और गूढ़ विषय है पर सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण बात यह चुनना है कि हम किन विचारों को अपनी चेतना में प्रवेश दें।

सभी जानते हैं कि हमें किस तरह के भोजन को अपने भारीर में प्रवेश देना चाहिए, प्रदूषित भोजन हमारे भारीर पर कैसा प्रभाव डालता है। प्रदूषित जल हमारे भारीर पर कैसा प्रभाव डालता है और प्रदूषित वायु हमें किस तरह अस्वस्थ बना रहा है।

आज हमारे सामने प्रदूषित विचारों को झेलना, उनको अपने चेतना में प्रवेश न होने देना अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है यदि हम इस ओर सचेत नहीं रहे तो हमारे मानसिक स्वास्थ्य और भाारीरिक स्वास्थ्य की क्या अवस्था होगी।

प्रदूषित भोजन और पानी को भारीर में प्रवेश न होने देना कुछ हद तक हमारे वश में है, पर प्रदूषित वायु और प्रदूषित विचारों को प्रवेश से कैसे रोकें?

जैसे वायु के प्रदू ाण के लिए इसके उद्गम स्थान पर रोक लगाने की कार्यवाही सरकार और समाज द्वारा की जा रही है वैसे ही विचारों के प्रदूषण को रोकने के लिए ठोस कदम की जरूरत है। सांस्कृतिक पर्यावरण की जरूरत है।

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Existential Demographic Threat Facing Indian Civilization

-R.K.Ohri ,IPS(Retd)

During last several decades ***a lot of disinformation has been propagated across the world, especially in developing countries,that any increase in population per se is an impediment in economic development.*** Malthusian theory was used as the medium for spreading this disinformation.Truth however, is altogether different. **Manpower or human resource is a great asset for economic progress.** But there is an important caveat; the population must be educated and invested with professional skills. Therefore **the real roadblocks to economic development are illiteracy and lack of skill.** Youthful population,if it is ecucated and skilled, is the biggest harbinger of enhanced productivity and higher Gross Domestic Product (i.e.GDP).

It will surprise the Indian middle class that the latest threat to the humankind does not emanate from over population;it comes from too few new arrivals, a phenomenon which will lead to depopulation of many countries. ***After invention of contracetives,all over world,except Muslim countries, fertility levels have sharply declined by more than half since 1972-from 6 children per woman in 1972 to 2.9 in 1990s.*** According to the United Nations Population Report 2002, Europe"s fertility rates are now far below the replacement level of 2.1.Population of Russia is decreasing by 75,00,000 every year and the country"s President Vladimir Putin considers it as a "national crisis". The population of Germany could go down by one-fifth in the next 40 years,Bulgaria"s by 38 percent and Romania"s by 27 percent. ***Muslim countries,however, are striking exceptions to the globle trend of declining population.In Europe Albania and Kosovo are growing fast, and so are Saudi Arabia, Yemen,Syria Pakistan and Afghanistan in Asia.***

Unfortunately a majority of middle class Hindu elite and opinion-makers do not understand the weird phenomenon of demographic decimation which destroyed the secular and multicultural ethos of Lebanon, Kosovo Bosnia, etc. solely because the fast population growth of Muslims outpaced the Christian numbers. That was how finally these countries\ territories were overwhelmed by Muslim majorities. A similar demographic change now threatens the pluralistic and secular ethos of Macedonia and France.In Macedonia the Muslims were only 8 percent in the year 1900 but now they form nearly one-third of the country"s total population. In France between 1970 and 1990 the Christian population declined by 2 millions, from 425,58,000 to 406,27,000 while Muslims multiplied 3 times, from 13,53,000 to 38,50,000 in the same period. ***The recent orgy of car-burning and violence by Muslim youth in France is to a large extent rooted in the fast changing demography of France.***

Apart from the tragic fate of the Christians of the Balkans, it is time we learnt some lesson from the three weeks long rioting in France which resulted in burning of 30 thousand cars and damage by arson to 200 public buildings, many nursery school, It led to more than 3,200 arrests and nearly 400 rioters have already been sentenced to prison terms.According to underwriters the damages caused to property by rioters were estimated to be between 80 million and 150 million Franks.

In view of the fast changing population profile of India it is necessary to understand the long term implications of the following facts gleaned from the data relating to the last six censuses held in India ,since 1951;

1 Since independence in percentage terms there has been a relentless increase in the population of only one community, i.e. the Muslims, to the exclusion of every other religious group. The percentage growth of all other communities, e.g., Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and Christians have been in a declining mode . On top of it,since 1981 the Muslim population growth has gathered speed and is now in a massive fast forward mode.

2. ***Census 2001 disclosed that the decadal growth rate of Muslims was around 36 percent, while the Hindu growth rate had declined from 23 percent to 20 percent. It led to an unseemly political controversy on the ground that no census had taken place in J.& K. state in 1991. And that led to a very clumsy fudging of census 2001, by omitting from census headcount as many as 3.67 crore people living in Jammu & Kashmir and Assam, the 2 states having high Muslim population***. (It may be recalled that no census could be held in Assam in 1981due to disturbed conditions, but that did not result in any political ruckus).There was no fudging of data then.The most extraordinary aspect of this exercise was the deletion with restrospective effect of the population of these 2 sensitive states from every census held since 1961-something never done in any democratic country.

3. ***In January 2005 it was highlighted in a lucid article by two well known professional demographers, P.N.Mari Bhat and A.J.Francis Zavier, that ""the fertility of Muslims, which was about 10 percent higher than that of Hindus before independence, is now 25 to 30 percent higher than the Hindu rate"".*** [Source:Role of Religion in Fertility Decline:The case of Indian Muslims, Economic & Political Weekly January 29, 2005]. In other words,the overall growth of Muslim population is now something like 45 percent higher than the Hindus .

4. As analysed by Mari Bhat and Francis Zavier, the assertion made in a section of English media that census 2001 revealed a higher reduction in the growth rate of Muslims than Hindus was incorrect. Actually the decline in Hindu growth rate was higher at 12.2 percent as against a decline of 10.3 percent in Muslim growth, as explained by two demographers in detail.

5. ***There is no truth in the assertion that higher Muslim fertility was due to their poverty or illitercy. Since 36 percent Muslims live in urban areas,*** as against ***only 26 percent Hindus, and Muslims have a higher life expectancy at birth than Hindus*** (by 1.2.years according to 2 NFHS Surveys), logically their fertility should have been lower than Hindus. But the situation on the ground shows that the fertility of Muslim continues to be higher despite their greater urbanization.

6. There is ***substantial difference in the acceptance of family planning by Muslims,which is lower at least by 25 percent than Hindus and other communities.The real reason is "religion".***The two professional demographers have described the community"s higher fertility as ""Muslim effect"", a somewhat colourful but truthful, expression. [Source:P.397 of Eco. & Pol.Weekly of January 29, 2005]

7. Interestingly Mari Bhat and Francis Zavier have highlighted the fact that in non-Muslim countries there is a general trend towards higher growth rate of Muslim populations.

8. According to NFHS Survey -2 (Nationan Family Health Survey-2 of 1998-99) in Kerala where the literacy level of 2communities is almost equal (and due to large Gulf remittances economically Muslims are better off than Hindus) the growth rate of Muslims is much higher than Hindus-by almost 50 percent.

9. The ***National Family Health Survey-2(1998)had revealed that on an average every Muslim woman was giving birth to 1.1more children than her Hindu counterpart.***

It must be clarified that both Mari Bhat and Francis Zavier are not ***repeat not***, the so-called "right wing" Hindu fundamentalists, as is evident from their occasionally chiding the Hindu ""right"" at one or two places. Both of them are well known professional demographers. At least one of them is a Christian-even both could be.

It is time that all "secular"Indians understood the mindboggling import of the highly revealing Statement 7 of Census 2001 Religion Data Report (page X1ii) which gives the religion-

wise breakup of children in the 0-6 years age group. ***It shows that the percentage of Muslim cohorts (a term commonly used in demographic parlance)is 21 percent higher than Hindu cohorts.It may be recalled according to census 2001 Muslims constitute only 13.4 Percent of India"s population.But their population in 0-6 years age group is 21 percent higher than Hindus. Giving the headstart advantage of 7.6 percent to Muslim community over the Hindus,as and when these cohorts enter the age of reproduction, say roughly between 2011 and 2016.*** This single page of Census 2001 Report gives a total clue to the demographic crisis likely to engulf India,say anytime after 2011or 2021.These 0-6yrs old cohorts (enumerated in 2001) will become reproductively active between 2011and 2016 and then continue to reproduce for the next 30-40 years.With a 21 percent higher cohort population and at least 25-30 percent less acceptance of family planning,the growth in Muslims population during the next 4decades is likely to become even more fast paced, **It is simple arithmetic-even a high school student can understand it and do it.**

The biggest quantum jump in Muslim population (in terms of percentage) in the coming decades will take place in Haryana where the ratio of Muslim cohorts is almost 60 percent higher than the Hindu cohorts. Next in descending order will be Assam, West Bengal Uttaranchal, Delhi, Nagaland, Bihar and so on.

A future analysis of the 0-6 years cohorts data will surprise you, nay, even shock you. It ***reveals that out of 35 States and Union Territories listed in Statememt 7, the percentage of Muslim 0-6 years cohorts is higher than Hindus in as many 31 States and U.Ts.*** The percentage of 0-6 years Hindu cohorts is marginally higher than Muslims only in two states of Sikkim and Madhya Pradesh and two Union Territories of Daman & Diu and Andaman & Nicobar Islands.It means that in the coming decades the Muslim population will grow at a higher rate than the Hindus in 31 States and Union Territories.As recounted in Census 2001 India has a total of 35 states and U Ts. Statement 7 of Census 2001 Religion Data Report is self explanatory.It vividly depicts the looming dark shadow of future demographic changes across the country. Here I must reiterate that future demographic trends,based on the data given in Statement 7, are totally unalterable,because these children are already born and will enter reproductive age between 2011 and 2016 and continue to reproduce for the next 30 to 40 years. No one,except God Almighty,can add to,or subtract from, these numbers.

It is very surprising how and why the Indian intelligentsia do ***not try to understand the reasons which prompted the Prime Minister of U.K. Tony Blair, to advise all British couples to opt for the 5 children norm, why in recent years most European countries have announced liberal cash bonuses to those couples who opt to have more children,*** why Peter Costello, Australian Chancellor of the Excheqer, announced an attractive incentive of 2,000 Australian dollars for every child born after June 2004. Perhaps the growing fear of the huge population of Jihad-infested Indonesia has prompted Australia to do a rethink of their population policy. Robert Costello gave a clarion call to his countrymen emphasizing that every couple must have at least 3 children, preferably many more saying ""one for the father, one for the mother and one for the country. ""[Source: Hindustan Times, May 13,2004, P.1]. Similarly Pope Benedict XVI too has given a call to the Catholic community of Europe to opt for more children. It is time that Hindu middle class and opinion-makers tried to learn something from well known international population watchers like Tony Blair, Niall Ferguson, Berhard Lewis, Robert Costello and Mark Steyn, a Canadian strategic analyst. They are keen observers of the latest global population trends and have been aggressively trying to alert their countrymen. Incidentally unlike Hindu intelligentsia of India, in the U.K. and Australia no one laughs at or ridicules Tony Blair or Peter Costello. Obviously as a nation the British and the Australians continue to be much more nation the British and the Australians continue to be much more rational and sagacious than us, the myopic Indians.

India has a growing tribe fo sham-secularists who might ask why this global panic,what is the problem,where is the problem? Well, the answer is that in the year 1900 the Muslims constituted only 12 percent of the world population; they grew to 18percent in 1992-93 (when Huntington published his first thesis on the clash of civilizations);by 2003 the Muslims became 20 percent of the globle population. And by 2025, barely 19 years away from now, they will constitute 30 percent of world population. [Source: Spangler, The Decline of the West, cited by Samuel Huntington].

According to some demographic estimates, Muslims might constitute anything between 37 to 40 percent of the world population by 2100 AD. Correspondingly in recent years the numbers of Jihads worldwide have also multiplied in tandem with the growth in Muslim population, our next door neighbour Thailand being the latest entrant to the growing list of faultline conflict zones.

Niall ferguson (a strategic analyst who teaches contemporary history at Harvard) wrote in The Sunday Times, London, in April 2004, that in another 50 years time Europe was likely to become a Muslim majority continent. And his warning has alerted most countries of the continent. Some enterprising futurologists have re-named Europe as "EURABIA". According to a write up which appeared sometime ago in The Economist, London, fearful of the growing Albanian clout in the Balkans, many well-to-do Macedonians are migrating out and the destination of choice is New Zealand. ***Apparently they no longer consider Europe safe for their children and grand children.*** Niall Ferguson has drawn further attention to the fact that due to low fertility rates and increasing life expectancy by 2050 one in every three Italians, Spaniards and Greeks is likely to be 65 years or older.So the "old Europe" will become much more older. He has drawn attention to the fact that the birth rates of Muslim societies (i.e.,including those Muslims who live in non-Muslim countries) are more than double the European average. Prima facie in India the Hindu birth rate is fast approaching the European average.For Instance,according to census 2001 the decadal TFR, or birth rate of Hindus of Kolkata district (West Bengal) was barely 1.0, a birth rate much lower than that of Germany, Italy and Spain which range between 1.2 and 1.4. Citing the example of Yemen Niall Ferguson has pointed out that by 2050 its population could exceed that of Russia (based on United Nations forecast assuming constant fertility rate). It will shock you to know that in the far away Norway within a 23 years span, from 1980 to 2003, the Muslim population quantum jumped 75 times-rising from 1000 in 1980 to 75,000 plus in 2003! The plight of Christian Europe is fully reflected in a recent article of Mark Steyn"s, "It is the demography, Stupid "which reads almost like dirge of the Dying Europe.

In regard to the growing hostility of French Muslims towards fellow Christians a common leftist refrain (heard both in France and India) is the inability of the French goverment to resolve the massive unemployment among Muslim youth. In the context of the recently witnessed car-burning frenzy in France a French gentleman questioned the obesession of leftists about unemployment problem of rioting Muslims when I ran into him at the house of a friend. He asked point blank that how could an economically debilitated country like France which has a growth rate of less than 2 percent (like most EUnations) create millions of additional jobs for the galloping Muslim Population. Additionally, France is burdened by an overwhelming national debt and remains steeped in the traditional culture of 35 hours work week.

It is time that the Indian middle class and opinion makers understood the long term climactic consequences of the existential demographic crisis writ large across the Indian horizon. In a differnt context, while analysing socio-economic aspect of the latest census, the well known demographer, Prof. Ashish Bose, has estimated that presently in 49 districts Muslims already constitute more than 30 percent of population .(Source;Economic and Political Weekly, Mumbai ,January 29,2005,p.371(table 4).A back-of-the envelope calculation made in the light of Muslim growth rate of the last two decades, shows that Muslims will attain Majority status in all these 49

districts, any time between 2091and 2111, perhaps even earlier. Just now Muslims are in majority in 12 districts to which another 37 may be added by end of the century. What might happen thereafter is anybody"s guess. It has the potential to give a massive fillip to the growing jihadi fervour in the sub-continent.

The foregoing cold facts should ring a loud alarm bell good enough to wake up all those who want to ensure long term survival of secularism in India. The problem has global dimensions, too. It is unfortunate that while the world has woken up to the threat of changing demography,we Indians continue to slumber under the influence of dopelaced lullabies broadcast by communists and fellow traveller sham-secularists.

A detailed analysis of the 0-6 years old cohorts, along with explanatory comments is enclosed as annexure.

ANNEXURE TO SEMINAR PAPER \ARTICAL

(Based on Page xiii of Census 2001 Religion Data Report)

PROPORTION OF POPULATION AGE 0-6 TO TOTAL POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES -2001(INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES)

India\States U\Territories	All religious Communities	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Buddhists Jains	Others -
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
All India	15.9	15.6	18.7	13.5	12.8	14.4	10.6	18.0
Jammu&Kashmir	14.6	13.3	15.4	11.6	10.6	11.7	10.9	15.5
Himachal Pradesh	13.0	13.3	16.2	12.8	12.1	10.6	10.5	13.2
Punjab	13.0	13.2	16.3	16.1	12.8	13.4	10.2	13.5
Chandhigarh	12.8	13.4	17.1	12.1	9.1	7.7	10.0	9.7
Uttaranchal	16.0	15.4	21.2	11.7	14.8	9.1	9.8	14.7
Haryana	15.8	15.4	24.5	12.4	13.0	16.2	11.3	11.7
Delhi	14.6	14.3	18.5	11.4	10.8	13.5	11.3	10.1
Rajasthan	18.8	18.8	21.0	14.6	15.1	18.2	10.7	15.9
Uttar Pradesh	19.0	18.6	20.9	14.6	14.1	19.9	11.9	17.0
Bihar	20.2	19.9	22.0	14.8	14.2	19.4	11.0	20.3
Sikkim	14.5	14.6	13.2	14.6	2.0	14.4	11.5	15.0
Arunachal Pradesh	18.8	17.1	18.8	20.5	7.6	19.8	15.7	19.1
Nagaland	14.6	12.7	19.2	14.6	8.3	11.9	11.7	12.8
Manipur	14.2	13.2	19.8	14.0	8.5	18.4	10.1	14.8
Mizoram	16.2	9.2	10.1	16.1	9.8	20.5	16.8	15.8
Tripura	13.6	13.0	18.6	15.7	4.5	17.9	11.9	12.1
Meghalaya	20.2	14.2	21.2	21.1	12.3	14.4	13.5	21.5
Assam	16.9	14.5	21.8	17.6	9.9	14.3	10.5	15.5
West Bengal	14.2	12.7	18.7	13.4	10.1	10.6	9.6	15.4
Jharkhand	18.4	17.9	21.2	16.2	11.1	16.8	11.1	19.0
Orissa	14.6	14.4	16.5	17.8	10.8	13.3	10.8	17.8
Chattisgarh	17.1	17.2	15.5	15.3	12.3	13.4	11.7	19.0
Madhya Pradesh	17.9	18.0	17.9	13.3	12.9	14.5	11.3	18.1
Gujarat	14.9	14.9	15.8	12.8	12.7	17.3	9.2	12.7
Daman&Diu ,	13.0	13.2	12.3	9.8	11.0	13.5	10.8	8.7
Dadra&Nagar Haveli	18.2	18.3	16.1	19.3	11.4	18.6	13.8	13.3
Maharashtra	14.1	14.0	16.2	10.3	11.6	14.1	10.1	13.1
Goa	10.8	10.9	15.2	9.6	10.0	12.0	11.5	11.9
Lakshadweep	15.0	3.6	15.5	3.1	-	-	-	-
Kelala	11.9	10.8	15.0	11.2	10.0	12.7	9.7	15.9
Tamil Nadu	11.6	11.5	12.9	11.2	10.4	12.0	10.8	11.1

Pondicherry	12.0	12.0	13.1	11.0	8.3	5.5	11.6	12.6
Andaman&Nicobar Islands	12.6	12.7	11.3	12.7	12.4	5.9	13.0	15.1

[Source;Census of India 2001,Religion Data Report,Statement 7, p.xiii

Notes :.

1 Population figure for India and Manipur exclude those of Mao Maram, Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district of Manipur.

2. The column "All religious communities includes" "Religion not stated"

The above data of cohorts in the 0-6 years age group reveals the following alarming facts:

i) Although presently Muslims constitute only 13.4 percent of India"s population the percenttage in 0-6 years children was as high as 21 percent in 2001-i.e., showing a headstart of 7.6 percent advantage to Muslims in the matter of reproduction after these cohorts attain the age of 17 years (2011 and beyond).

ii) It has been established by the 2 NFHS(National Family Health Surveys) held in1992 and 1999 that on an average the acceptance of family planning among Muslims was at least 25 percent lower than the Hindus. That means from 2011 onwards for the next 30-40 years population growth rate of Muslims will be much more fast than what has been witnessed during the last 2 decades.

iii) Out of 35 States and UTs, the percentage of Muslim cohorts is higher than the Hindus in as many as 31 States\UTs, In all these states Muslim Population will grow much faster. Only in 2 States of Madhya Pradesh and Sikkim and 2 UTs, of Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Daman & Diu the percentage of Hindu cohorts in 0-6 Years age group is some what higher than Muslims.

iv) Hold your breath, surprise of surprises, the biggest quantum jump in Muslim growth percentage will be in Haryana where the Muslim 0-6 yrs,age cohorts are higher by 60 percent than the Hindus! Next to follow suit will be Assam, W.Bengal, Uttaranchal, Chandigarh, Delhi, Nagaland, Kerala etc.

v) The story of the future climactic demographic changes likely to overwhelm the Hindu identity of India is written on this single page of Census 2001 Religion Data Report. No one, except God Almighty, can substract from or add to these 0 -6 yrs cohorts who are already born and are being brought up. They will enter reproductive age in the years 2011-2017 and then remain active for the next 30-40 years. Every economist knows that the long term statistical trends are not easily reversed unless there are some radical changes in the basic determinants of such long term trends As a general rule, it requires 2 generations of "BABY-BOOMERS" (i.e., a span of 50 years) to counter and reverse the skewedness of adverse demographics facing a country Iike the Christians of Lebanon and the Balkans. Europe discovered it too late, too little ,as is evident from the incisive article of Mark Steyn which reads almost like ""DIRGE OF THE DYING EUROPE"".

vi) It further follows that in the coming decades the percentage of youthful component of the Hindu society will continue to decline year afrer year, while the proportion of old people (mostly pensioners, inactive and non-earning sedate men and women) will continue to rise. But among the Muslims the youthful component will remain higher than the Hindus, as is evident from the census 2001 data about 0-6 years cohorts. As a rule, the youth are more adventurous more aggressive, more demanding and violence-prone. That could be a dangerous prospect for the ageing non-Muslim societies,as highlighted by ***Samuel Huntington in his famous tome on the Clash of Civilizations.*** The Christian Europe is in serious trouble because it is rapidly growing older and becoming functionally ineffectual and effette.

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